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CLANS AND MOIETIES IN
SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

BY
EDWARD WINSLOW GIFFORD

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

In December, 1916, and January, 1917, a five weeks' trip was made to southern California for the purpose of studying the kinship systems of various Yuman and Shoshonean groups. The preliminary data concerning social organization presented in the following pages were secured at that time. The data on Shoshonean social organization are of particular interest as they make clear that the southern California Shoshoneans form a connecting link between the totemic group in the north, consisting of the Miwok, northern Yokuts, and Mono,¹ and the totemic group in the south, formed by the Yuman and Piman tribes.

Acknowledgment is due Dr. A. L. Kroeber for the use of his unpublished data on Mohave and Papago clans.

¹ See E. W. Gifford, *Dichotomous Social Organization in South Central California*, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., xi, 291-296, 1916.

YUMAN CLANS

The clans of the Mohave, Yuma, Cocopa, Kohuana, Maricopa, and Kamia² possess several features in common: paternal descent, exogamy, and clan names, of totemic connotation, for females only. Dr. Kroeber has stated the case for the Mohave as follows:

Certain men, and all their ancestors and descendants in the male line, have only one name for all their female relatives. Thus, if the female name hereditary in my family be Maha, my father's sister, my own sisters, my daughters (no matter how great their number), and my son's daughters, will all be called Maha. There are about twenty such women's names, or virtual gentes, among the Mohave. None of these names seems to have any signification. But according to the myths of the tribe, certain numbers of men originally had, or were given, such names as Sun, Moon, Tobacco, Fire, Cloud, Coyote, Deer, Wind, Beaver, Owl, and others, which correspond exactly to totemic clan names; then these men were instructed by Mastamho, the chief mythological being, to call all their daughters and female descendants in the male line by certain names corresponding to these clan names. Thus the male ancestors of all the women who at present bear the name Hipa, are believed to have been originally named Coyote. It is also said that all those with one name formerly lived in one area, and were all considered related. This, however, is not the case now, nor does it seem to have been so within recent historic times. It should also be added that many members of the tribe are not aware of the connection between the present women's names and the totemic names of the myth.³

The Northern and Southern Diegueño lack totemic clans, although they possess groups which may be considered as non-totemic, localized clans, as will be pointed out later. The Diegueño, particularly the Northern, were long under the control of the Franciscan missionaries, many being taken to the mission at San Diego. The Colorado River tribes were not subject to mission influence and doubtless to-day present a more complete picture of their aboriginal culture than do the Diegueño.

COLORADO RIVER TRIBES

Tables 1 and 2 list the clans of the Mohave, Yuma,⁴ Cocopa, Kohuana, Maricopa, and Kamia, first by totemic references, second

² By this term is meant the so-called Yuma Diegueño, closely related in dialect to the Southern Diegueño, who are agricultural people dwelling on the Colorado River just below the southern frontier of California. These people are bordered on the north by the Yuma, with whom they are reputed to have allied themselves in war against their southern neighbors, the Cocopa, as well as against the Maricopa. The Cocopa call the Kamia, Wasmisxa; the Yuma call them at present Witcankamiya, probably a translation of English "Yuma Diegueño."

³ Preliminary Sketch of the Mohave Indians, *Am. Anthr.*, n. s., iv, 278, 1902.

⁴ I am indebted to Mr. L. L. Odle, Superintendent of the Yuma Indian Reservation, for the privilege of inspecting the Agency records in determining the existing clans upon the reservation. This inspection yielded fourteen, represented by the following women's names: Hävtcats, Alymos, Hipa, Liots, Mave, Meta, Wahas, Kwicku, Sikuma, Sinykwäl, Cikupas, Sikus, Teia, Waksi.

by women's names. All of the Mohave women's names were obtained by Dr. A. L. Kroeber⁵ except the name Kwini θ a, which is from Mr. E. S. Curtis' list.⁶ This list, though not so lengthy as Dr. Kroeber's, agrees with his throughout. The Kohuana⁷ and Maricopa names are entirely from Mr. Curtis' work. The Yuma list is a compound of Mr. J. P. Harrington's and my own, with Mr. Harrington's orthography⁸ slightly altered. The Cocopa and Kamia are entirely mine.

Table 2 compares the names for women employed by the clans of the Mohave, Yuma, Cocopa, Kohuana, Maricopa, and Kamia. Considering the identity of the institution in these several tribes, it is surprising how few of the names are held in common by two or more of the tribes. The name with the totemic connotation of "dove" or "pigeon" seems to be widest spread, Yuma, Cocopa, Kohuana, and Kamia using it. The Cocopa word is Sakuma, which the other three render as Sikama or Sikuma. The name Hipa, connoting "coyote," is used by the Mohave, Yuma, and Maricopa. The stem connoting "rattlesnake" is shared by Yuma, Kohuana, and Cocopa. The word Halpot or Halypota is shared by Mohave, Yuma, and Kohuana, although with varying connotations. Aside from these four instances no name is common to more than two tribes, and comparatively few are even shared by two. Table 3 abstracts these instances from table 2 and presents them in more concise form, first listing the names of women and then the corresponding totemic references. In table 1 a solid line (—) indicates the occurrence of the totemic reference, but the absence of the woman's clan name. In table 2 a solid line indicates the occurrence of the woman's clan name, but the absence of the totemic reference. In both tables 1 and 2 a dotted line indicates non-occurrence of the name listed in the left-hand column.

⁵ Unpublished material. A list of fourteen clans has been published by Captain John G. Bourke in his *Cosmogony and Theogony of the Mojave Indians* (Jour. Am. Folk-Lore, II, 180, 181, 1889). The list agrees with Dr. Kroeber's throughout, except that the connotations of certain of the terms are different. In Captain Bourke's list Maha is assigned to caterpillar, Kata to "mescal" as well as tobacco, and Masipa to coyote instead of quail. With regard to the name Masipa, which is no. 12 of his list and which connotes the coyote, Captain Bourke says: "No. 12 was originally a band of Maricopas that came to live with the Mojaves but have always remained as a separate clan."

⁶ The North American Indian (Cambridge, Univ. Press, 1908), II, 113. The orthography of Mr. Curtis' lists has been slightly modified to correspond with that employed in this paper.

⁷ Mentioned by Mr. Curtis as "Maricopa from the Cocopa." Dr. Kroeber considers that these are probably clans of the refugee Kohuana or Halehi θ oma.

⁸ A Yuma Account of Origins, Jour. Am. Folk-Lore, XXI, 344, 345, 1908. The following are listed: Xavtsáts, Hipa, τ laots, Maavé' Ciqupás, Met'a, Almos, Sin'kwál, Estamadhún, Kwíckú, Xal'pot, Xakcí.

TABLE 1

TOTEMIC REFERENCE

CLAN NAME OF WOMAN

	MOHAVE	YUMA	COCOPA	KOHUANA	MARICOPA	KAMIA
Sun	Nyo 'iltea	-----	-----	-----	Liate	-----
Fire	Nyo 'iltea	-----	-----	-----	Liate	-----
Moon	Hoalya	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Wind	Mathateva	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Cloud	Owite	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Rain cloud	-----	Llots	Kwiye	-----	-----	-----
"Colorado River"	-----	-----	Kwas	-----	-----	-----
Salt	-----	-----	Sikus	-----	-----	-----
Sand	-----	-----	-----	-----	Ksila	-----
Hard ground	-----	Waksi	-----	-----	-----	-----
Deer	Nyo 'iltea	Alymos	Niu	Kwinis	Kwaku	-----
Deer-hide	-----	Sinykwal	-----	-----	-----	-----
Coyote	Hipa	Hipa	Sikus	-----	Hipa	Kunyah
Coyote	Masipa	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Fox	-----	Hipa	-----	-----	-----	Kunyah
Mountain sheep	Moha	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Beaver	Siulya	Wahas	Kasmus	-----	-----	-----
Wood rat	Malyikha	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Wild cat	-----	-----	Nimi	-----	-----	-----
"Any yellow animal"	-----	-----	-----	Kwutkil	-----	-----
Owl	Kutkilya	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Screech owl	Moheha	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
"A bird"	Moheha	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Eagle	Nyo 'iltea	Sinykwal	-----	-----	-----	-----
Quail	Masipa	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Buzzard	-----	Llots	Sakuma	-----	Liate	Llots
Buzzard	-----	-----	-----	-----	Pakit	-----
"Dove"	-----	Sikuma	Sakuma	-----	-----	Sikuma
"Pigeon"	-----	-----	-----	Sikama	Kimiθi	-----
"A bird"	Maha	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Roadrunner	-----	Meta	-----	-----	-----	-----
Nighthawk	-----	Tcia	Uru	-----	-----	-----
Rattlesnake	-----	Mave	Smawi'	Mave	-----	-----
Frog	Halypota	Hävtcats	Kapsas	-----	-----	-----
Humahnana beetle	Nyo 'iltea	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
"An insect"	-----	Estamaðun	-----	-----	-----	-----
Caterpillar	Maha	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Caterpillar (?)	Nyikha	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Red ant	-----	Cikupas	-----	Sinikwus	-----	-----
Grasshopper (?)	-----	Kwicku	-----	-----	-----	-----
Tobacco	Kata	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Tobacco	Vahaða	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Mesquite bean	Vimaka	Alymos	-----	Salal	Namitute	-----
Mesquite screw	Musa	-----	-----	-----	-----	Kalsmus
"Mescal," yucca	Tilya	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
"Mescal,"	Kata	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Okatilla cactus	Kumaðiya	-----	-----	-----	Kimiθi	-----
Prickly-pear cactus	Kwiniθa	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Cholla cactus	-----	-----	-----	-----	Hipa	-----
White corn	-----	-----	-----	-----	Hävtcate	-----
Corn	Teatea	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Food	Teatea	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Agricultural food	-----	Hävtcats	-----	-----	-----	-----
Sedge	-----	-----	-----	Hutpas	-----	-----
Soaked willow bark	-----	Kwicku	-----	-----	-----	-----
Bark	-----	-----	Kutcal	-----	-----	-----
"A bush"	-----	-----	-----	Halpot	-----	-----
"Already done"	-----	Halypot	-----	-----	-----	-----
"Pima"	-----	Llots	-----	-----	-----	-----

TABLE 2—(Continued)

WOMAN'S NAME	TOTEMIC REFERENCE				
	MOHAVE	YUMA	COCOFA	KOHUANA	MARICOPA
Waksi	Hard ground	.....	.....	KAMIA
Alymos	Deer	.....	.....	.....
Alymos	Mesquite bean	.....	.....	.....
Musa
Mesquite screw	Screw bean
Kalsmus	Beaver	.....	.....
Kasmus
Sinykwal	Deer	.....	.....	.....
Sinykwal	Eagle	.....	.....	.....
Sinakwas	Red ant	.....
Sinikwas
Gikupas	Red ant	.....	.....	Deer
Kvaku
Wahas	Beaver	.....	.....	Buzzard
Liots	Buzzard	.....	.....	.....
Liots	"Pima"	.....	.....	.....
Liots	Rain cloud	.....	.....	Buzzard
Liate	Sun
Liate	Fire
Liate	"Dove"	.....	"Pigeon"	"Dove"
Sikama
Sikama	"A bird"	.....	.....	.....	.....
Maha	Caterpillar	.....	"Dove"	.....	.....
Sakuma	Buzzard	.....	.....
Sakuma	Roadrunner	.....	.....	.....
Meta	Nighthawk	.....	.....	.....
Tcia	Rattlesnake	.....	Rattlesnake	.....
Mave	Rattlesnake	.....	.....
Smawi'	Frog	.....	.....	.....
Hävtcats	Agricultural food	.....	.....	.....
Hävtcats	White corn
Hävtcate
Teatca
Teatca	Corn	.....	.....	.....	.....
Teatca	Food	.....	.....	.....	.....

TABLE 2—(Concluded)

WOMAN'S NAME	TOTEMIC REFERENCE				
	MOHAVE	YUMA	COCOPA	KOHUANA	MARICOPA
Estamaḡun	"An insect"	.....	.....	KAMIA
Kwieku	Grasshopper (?)	.....	.....	.....
Kwieku	Soaked willow bark	.....	.....	.....
Kwiye	Rain cloud	.....	.....
Kwas	"Colorado River"	.....	.....
Sikus	Salt	.....	.....
Sikus	Coyote	.....	.....
Sikus	<i>izha</i>	.....	.....
Sikus	<i>hiizup</i>	.....	.....
Niu	Deer	.....	.....
Nimi	Wildcat	.....	.....
Uru	Nighthawk	.....	.....
Kapsas	Frog	.....	.....
Kuteal	Bark	.....	.....
Wateuwal	<i>selatce</i>	.....	.....
Kwinis	Deer	Deer	.....
Salal	Mesquite bean	Mesquite bean	.....
Hutpas	Sedge	Sedge	.....
Ksila	Sand	.....
Pakit	Buzzard	.....
Namitute	Mesquite bean	.....
Kunyah	Coyote
Kunyah	Fox
Witax
Ilkanyab

TABLE 3
NAMES OF WOMEN COMMON TO TWO OR MORE TRIBES

	Mohave	Yuma	Cocopa	Kohuana	Mariopa	Kamia
1.	Hipa	Hipa	.....	.....	Hipa	.....
2.	Kukilya	.....	.....	Kwutkil	.....	.....
3.	Halypota	Halypot	.....	Halpot	.....	.....
4.	.....	Cikupas	.....	Sinkwus	.....	Sinakwas
5.	.....	Llots	.....	.....	Liate	Llots
6.	Maha	Sikuma	.....	Sikama	.....	Sikuma
7.	.....	Mave	.....	Mave	.....	.....
8.	Teatca	Havtcats	.....	.....	Havtcate	.....
9.	Musa	Alymos	.....	.....	.....	Kalsmus
10.	Kumabiya	.....	.....	.....	Kimiθi	.....
11.	Kwiniθa	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
12.	.....	Sikus	.....	.....	.....	.....
13.	.....	Waksi	.....	.....	.....	Waksi
1.	Coyote	Coyote, fox	.....	.....	Coyote, cholla cactus	.....
2.	Owl	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
3.	Frog	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
4.	.....	“Already done”	.....	.....	.....	.....
5.	.....	Red ant	.....	.....	.....	.....
6.	.....	Buzzard, “Pima”	.....	.....	Buzzard, sun	Buzzard
7.	Species of bird	“Dove”	.....	.....	.....	“Dove”
8.	Corn, food	Rattlesnake	.....	.....	.....	.....
9.	Mesquite screw	Rattlesnake	.....	.....	.....	.....
10.	Okatilla cactus	Frog, agricultural food	.....	.....	White corn	.....
11.	Prickly pear cactus	Deer, mesquite bean	.....	.....	.....	Screw bean
12.	.....	.....	Beaver	.....	Okatilla cactus, road runner	.....
13.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
14.	.....	Hard ground	Salt	.....	.....	.....

Dr. Kroeber gives two examples of names of women changed after the death of a child: Nyo'iltea becomes Nyotca, Siulya becomes Kusuvelyā.

The Yuma as well as the Cocopa have a special name for the old women of each clan. The word for old woman (akoi in Yuma, wakui in Cocopa) is preposed to the ordinary totemic name for the woman, to the name of the totem, or to yet another name which is neither that of the woman nor of the totem. Examples of all three types are to be found in the ensuing table (4) in numbers 13, 3, and 6, respectively. In the Yuma Agency records the youngest woman to whom the term akoi (old woman) was applied was fifty-four years of age. The majority of women with this term were in the neighborhood of eighty years. Both Yuma and Cocopa informants said that this term was applied when gray hair began to appear.

Mr. Harrington mentions two terms for old women. On page 337 of his "A Yuma Account of Origins," is the following: "When the earth was dry again, Kwikumāt created just one person more, Akoiwite'ān ('Yuma-Old-Woman').⁹ She belonged to the Xavtsats nation." In footnote 2 on page 345, Mr. Harrington writes as follows concerning the mesquite-bean clan, the women of which are called Al'amos: "An old woman of this nation bears the additional name Akoiitchamal ('Old-Woman-Something-White'), because the mesquite beans referred to by Kumastamxo [the name-giver] were ripe and white." I have included this name in table 4 as number 4.

TABLE 4

NAMES OF OLD WOMEN, TOGETHER WITH USUAL CLAN NAMES OF WOMEN AND TOTEMIC REFERENCES

NAME OF WOMAN	NAME OF OLD WOMAN
<i>Yuma</i>	
1. Hipa (coyote = hatelwe)	Akoixipa
2. Mave (rattlesnake = avi)	Akoimavi'
3. Alymos (deer = akwak)	Akoiyikwak
4. Alymos (mesquite bean = a'is)	Akoiitchamal
5. Hävtcats	Akoitulil
6. Hävtcats (frog = hani)	Akoiwitean
7. Liots ("Pima" = hatba)	Akoihetpa
8. Meta (roadrunner = talypo)	Akoimeta
9. Cikupas (red ant = teamaḍul, ikwis)	Akoisikupas
10. Kwicku	Akoikwisaku
11. Sinykwal	Akoisinykwal
12. Wahas (beaver = apen)	Akoivahas
13. Sikuma (dove = xuskiva)	Akoisikuma
14. Teia (nighthawk = uru)	Akoiuru
15. Waksi	Akoiwaksi

⁹ See no. 6, table 4.

TABLE 4—(Continued)

Cocopa

16. Sakuma (buzzard = panapalim)	Wakuipanapala
17. Sakuma (dove = ilaku)	Wakuipanapala
18. Uru (nighthawk = uru)	Wakuispi
19. Kasmus (beaver = miskwisma)	Wakuimiskwisma
20. Wateuwal (———— selatce)	Wakuteilatce
21. Nimi (wild cat = sahulz)	Wakushulz
22. Sikus (salt = isix)	Wakusix
23. Sikus (———— ixha)	Wakuixha
24. Sikus (———— hüzip)	Wakuhüzup
25. Sikus (coyote = wihas) ¹⁰	Wakuwihas
26. Kutcal (bark = witeispax)	Wakumitispaxbai
27. Smawi' (rattlesnake = mawi')	Wakusmawi
28. Kwas (Colorado River = kauwilapa)	Wakauwilapa
29. Kapsas (frog = hanya')	Wakuiteayil
30. Niu (deer = kwak)	Wakuniu'
31. Kwiye (rain cloud = ihwi)	Wakuimas

Certain of the names of women in the preceding lists, the Yuma themselves attribute to other dialects. Sikus is said to be the name used by a Kamia clan, and it certainly is a common Cocopa name.

The totemic references which I obtained for certain names differ from those secured by Mr. Harrington. For Sinykwai, he lists deer-hide. One of my informants mentioned the eagle for this name. For Alymos, Mr. Harrington obtained the connotation mesquite bean, while I obtained both deer and mesquite bean. One informant stated that Estamađum was equivalent to Hävtcats. The connotation of Kwicku was given as "grasshopper or other insect"; Mr. Harrington gives it as "soaked willow bark." The name Xakci was not obtained, but the name Waksi was. Captain George and Henry Ward, two Indians who went over the Agency records with me, seemed inclined to identify Waksi with Xakci. In the records there were no individuals attributed to Xakci, but many to Waksi.

The ensuing table 5 lists the Mohave, Yuma, and Cocopa totemic references so far as they have been obtained. A comparison of this table with table 1, both being arranged in the same order, is all that is necessary to make clear the fact that totemic references and names of women have little in common. There is but one instance in which the two are identical, namely, in the Cocopa nighthawk clan, Uru being both the totemic reference and the name for a woman of the clan.

¹⁰ Mr. Harrington gives xattepa as the Cocopa word for coyote (Jour. Am. Folk-Lore, xxi, 345, footnote 1, 1908).

TABLE 5

NATIVE NAMES OF OBJECTS REFERRED TO IN WOMEN'S CLAN NAMES

	MOHAVE	YUMA	COCOPIA
Sun	anya	.....	.....
Fire	a'auva	.....	.....
Moon	haly'a	.....	.....
Wind	matha	.....	.....
Cloud	ikwe	.....	.....
Rain cloud	.....	akwi	ihwi
"Colorado River"	.....	.....	kauwiLapa
Deer	akwaka	akwak	kwak
Coyote	hukθara	hatelwe'	wihas
Fox	.....	hat'elwe'	.....
Mountain sheep	ammo	.....	.....
Beaver	apena	apen	miskwisma
Wood rat	amalyka	.....	.....
Wild cat	.....	nume	sahulz
Owl	ðokupita	.....	.....
Screech owl	tulauka	.....	.....
Species of bird	amatakunyevi	.....	.....
Eagle	aspa	.....	.....
Quail	ahma	.....	.....
Buzzard	.....	ase	panapalim
Dove	sakumaha (?)	xuskiva	ilaku
Roadrunner	.....	talypo	.....
Nighthawk	.....	uru	uru
Rattlesnake	.....	ave	mawi'
Frog	hanye	hani	hanya'
Species of beetle	humahnana	.....	.....
Caterpillar (?)	ame	.....	.....
Red ant	.....	teamaðul, ikwis	.....
Tobacco	auva	.....	.....
Mesquite bean	aya	.....	.....
Mesquite screw	a'isa	a'is	.....
"Mescal," yucca	vaðilya	.....	.....
Okatilla cactus	a'ikumaði	.....	.....
Corn	taðitea	taðiite	.....
Food	kuhuteatea	.....	.....
Bark	.....	.....	witeispax
"Pima"	.....	hat'ba	.....
(= Maricopa)			

Dr. Kroeber suggests that the clan names of women are perhaps archaic Yuman words. Certain evidence in the preceding lists would seem to lend color to this hypothesis, although the evidence might also be interpreted as indicating a borrowing of names. The Cocopa name Sakuma, which is applied to women of the buzzard and dove totems, is found in Mohave in the term sakumaha, a species of bird, possibly the dove. The Cocopa name Nimi, which is applied to women of the

wild cat clan, is the Diegueño word for wild cat. I repeated a number of the Yuma clan names of women to a Diegueño informant at Campo, San Diego County, California, with the idea that if they were archaic Yuman words they might have continued in every day use among Yuman peoples other than the Yuma. The Diegueño informant also spoke Papago and remarked that he thought the Yuma name Liots was perhaps Papago suut, meaning "to break out with disease on the pubes." Although there are some cases of folk etymologies in it, the following list of alleged meanings is presented for what it is worth.

YUMA NAME	PROBABLE DIEGUEÑO EQUIVALENT	MEANING
Hipa	hiba	man
Alymos	limis	pubic hair
Hävtcats	havtcats	uterus
Meta	.....	ground
Wahus	.....	wet house
Sikuma	sikuma	carrying lunch
Sikus	sikus	white fish
Tcia	tcia	species of fish
Waksi	waksi	hard ground

The list of sixteen Cocopa clans was given me by Frank Tehana and Stump Barley, a shaman. The Cocopa data were obtained from these men at Somerton, Arizona.

Both of my informants belong to the buzzard (panapalim) clan, yet their personal names do not refer to that bird. Stump Barley's name is Kwalkumuyesx, which is said to mean something like "old-woman-mouldy-bread." Frank Tehana's name is Isbaxkwisain, meaning "Yuma eagle" (isbax, eagle; kwisain, Yuma). Each of these men said that he was so named in infancy by his father.

Although Cocopa clans are exogamous, there are no favored clans in marriage. There is no clan endogamy, for members of a clan consider themselves to be blood relatives. There are said to be no clan paints or tattoos and no clan chiefs. The Cocopa chieftain (kwiswap) was selected by the people, a son succeeding his father only in case the people considered him to have sufficient ability. There were no chieftainesses.

The totems of the Cocopa clans are said to have been assigned to the clans by the god Maskwaiyek in the beginning of the world before the tribes of mankind had separated. The Cocopa do not believe in descent from the totem. Totemites do not kill their totem, although at liberty to kill the totems of other clans.

The fragmentary list of Kamia clan names for women was obtained from Placidus Aspa, a mixed blood Southern Diegueño living at present on the Yuma Indian Reservation. Aspa from infancy lived with the Kamia. The clan names of women with the Kamia as with the Yuma are being anglicized and adopted as surnames. One of Aspa's girl cousins possesses the clan name of Ilkamyab which she has anglicized to Helimpa as a surname, also applied to her father.

DIEGUEÑO

Both the Northern and Southern Diegueño possess non-totemic, exogamous clans with paternal descent. In both dialects the word for clan is "simüs," usually translated as "tribe." Each clan was probably localized, or at least regarded as localized by the natives. This fact perhaps renders pertinent the question whether these social groups are true clans or only local groups. Exogamy and patrilinear descent would seem to indicate that they are really clans. All members of a group consider themselves related, and often at the present day the clan name is added to, or takes the place of, the American surname. An example of the first sort is found in the case of two informants of different families, but of one clan: Jose Largo Hetmiel and James McCarty Hetmiel, Hetmiel¹¹ being the clan name. Largo and McCarty are distant relatives. An example of the second sort is found in the clan name Kwilp (Northern Diegueño), which has been adopted as a family name. One of my informants was called Angel Quilp. The Shoshonean peoples of southern California also frequently utilize the clan name as a surname. The groups in question have been called families by Dr. Waterman, who states that they possess migration traditions: "The Diegueño have also certain brief migration traditions, but they are localized in various families and do not at all correspond to this Mohave-Luiseño story of a general migratory stage in the history of human kind."¹²

The following list of Southern Diegueño clans was obtained from Huteukal, an aged women from the western Imperial Valley, and from James McCarty, whose ancestors lived on the east slope of the Tecate Divide.

¹¹ Miss C. G. Du Bois recorded this as a surname in the form Hitlmiup (Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., viii, 124, 1908). Her rendering of the name is probably more nearly correct than mine, as I suspect that I was given an anglicized form.

¹² Analysis of the Mission Indian Creation Story, *Am. Anthr.*, n.s., xi, 52, 1909.

1. Kanihite. Clan of Hutekual and of her father. This clan lives at the Campo Agency, but came originally from the southwestern part of Imperial Valley. By James McCarty the name of this clan was rendered as Kwinhite.

2. Haiyipa. Clan of Hutekual's mother. Hakwino (region of "Blue Lake" and of Cameron Lake near Calexico) in southwestern Imperial Valley was the home of this clan.

3. Hakisput. Another Imperial Valley clan which lived at a place called Hatecupai, where there was a spring.

4. Hetmiel. A Southern Diegueño clan now living in the mountains near Campo Agency. This clan formerly lived at Hakwasik, on the eastern slope of the Tecate Divide, below Jacumba Valley, but north of the international boundary.

5. Naxwate. Clan of James McCarty's wife. The home place of this clan was Miskwatnuk, which lies to the north of the Campo Agency.

6. Kwitak. Clan of James McCarty's mother. This clan lived on the site of Warren's Hotel at Campo.

7. Yatecap. This clan lived at Hakisab, northeast of Campo Agency.

8. Kwatl. This clan lived at Hakwaskwak (Bitter Water), Jacumba Valley, Lower California. The name means "hide of an animal."

9. Tumau. This clan formerly lived near Brawley, Imperial Valley, where there are several springs.¹³ It is said to live with the Yuma at the present time. Tumau is said to mean "grasshopper" and refers to the fact that this clan ate grasshoppers. This recalls the grasshopper clans of the Yuma (see p. 158) and of the Cahuilla (see p. 191). In the case of the Cahuilla the name is said to have been assigned for a similar reason.

10. Hilmawa. This clan lived at Snauyaka (Manzanita), San Diego County. Dr. Kroeber obtained xesil as the name of Manzanita (the place) and of a species of manzanita. It is also the name of a Northern Diegueño clan (see p. 173).

11. Saikul. This clan lived at Matkwai (probably Mataguay), northeast of Manzanita.

12. Miskwis. The home of this clan was not known. An old woman of this clan lives on the Campo Reservation.

13. Kwamai. This clan lived at Pilyakai, at or near La Posta, San Diego County. Kwamai is said to mean "wishing to be big or tall."

Each clan in ancient times had a chief (kwaipai) who was selected by his clansmen. Women were never chosen. The especial business of the chief was to manage ceremonial affairs. The chief's assistant, kwaipai walmun ("little chief") was also selected by his clansmen. The Northern Diegueño of Mesa Grande, San Diego County, stated that their clan chiefs were hereditary, which in spite of the above statements to the contrary, I am inclined to believe was the case with the Southern Diegueño chieftains. The clan chiefs of all neighboring Shoshonean groups are hereditary. Of course it must be borne in mind that the Cocopa also stated that their chiefs were selected. It is possible that the Cocopa and Southern Diegueño are similar in this respect.

¹³ Possibly the Sunset Springs, thirteen miles south by east of Brawley.

Upon marriage a woman did not become a member of her husband's clan. She always remained a member of the clan of her father. She went to live with her husband's clan, however.

The Southern Diegueño clans and those of the Colorado River tribes have two features in common, paternal descent and exogamy. The former clans seem to be localized, however, while the latter are not. As already stated, the localized Diegueño clans are non-totemic, resembling closely the numerous localized Cahuilla clans, which are non-totemic in themselves, although totemic as sections of a larger group, the moiety. The Cahuilla totems are the coyote and the wild cat, approximately half of the clans claiming the former and half the latter.

Southern Diegueño informants told me that they "claimed" the wild cat as their "property" and their "god." They believed that the wild cat "raised" them, and they never killed it. In connection with the wild cat as a culture hero the Southern Diegueño employ a color symbolism. They say that in the east there was a red wild cat, in the west a blue one.¹⁴ The eastern wild cat is called *nimikumwal* (weak wild cat) and the western wild cat *nimiküspil* (strong wild cat). The Imperial Valley people as well as the mountain people say that the wild cat is their "property."

The wild cats were made by the creator *Maiyoha* and his brother, who came from the ocean. The red wild cat went to the east slope of the mountains which he claimed as his; the blue wild cat went to the west slope which he claimed. The Imperial Valley people (*Inyak*¹⁵ or *Kwelmixa*) are the people of the red wild cat. The *Kamiyaihi* (Southern Diegueño of the mountains) are the people of the blue wild cat. Neither of these shadowy groups are exogamous, however. People are related to the wild cats as to brothers.

The two wild cats are the ones who first told the months of the year. The month in which they began counting was *Ilyakwel* (cold month). Then followed five more: *Hexanimsup* (snow month), *Xatai* (cold month), *Hexapsu* (rain month), *Hatyamatinya* (rain month), and *Ixyanidja* (growing month).¹⁶ This information was gathered

¹⁴ The association of red with east and blue with west disagrees with Dr. Waterman's data. According to him, "North is associated with red, east with white, south with blue or green, these colors not being distinguished by the Diegueño, and west with black." (The Religious Practices of the Diegueño Indians, present series, VIII, 333, 1910.) It is not unlikely that my informant, James McCarty, made an error.

¹⁵ *Inyak* means "east."

¹⁶ Miss Du Bois records the six months of the Diegueño as follows: *Hutlnamashap*, *Hutltai*, *Hutlpswi*, *Hutlkwurx*, *Hutlmatanai*, *Hutlanaxa* (present series, VIII, 165, footnote, 1908).

during the first half of January, which time was called Xatai. Although the informant (James McCarty) designated the months as "snow," "cold," "rain," and "growing," he stated that after the sixth month the series was repeated.

In a version of the origin myth presented in this paper the wild cats lead the people to the region of Campo. Following a mythical image ceremony, the red wild cat asks: "Are we to live and multiply forever, or are we to die?" Although nothing further in this connection could be obtained from the informant, it seems clear that the wild cat had a hand in ordering the affairs of men.¹⁷

Considering that nearby Shoshonean groups, namely Cahuilla, Cupeño, and Serrano, have the wild cat and the coyote as totems, the above data concerning the status of the wild cat among the Southern Diegueño take on an added significance. The coyote, however, is in disrepute. When asked about him, James McCarty replied: "Coyote is a strange fellow. He is always lying, and he eats the dead. No one wishes him for a relative." The fox is not claimed as "property" as is the wild cat, even though it plays a considerable part in the Southern Diegueño creation story as obtained from James McCarty and presented in the following pages.

All was salt water in the beginning. In the water there were two deities, Maiyoha and his younger brother. Maiyoha had come to the surface of the water, when his younger brother asked how he had gone up; if he had had his eyes open. Maiyoha replied, "Yes." The younger brother came up with his eyes open, but when he reached the surface he could not see. The salt had blinded him. Maiyoha pulled his younger brother up blind. With the younger brother was the silver fox (madkauwai) of the desert.

The earth was made by Maiyoha. When the blind younger brother came to the surface of the water, he felt of the earth, for he had come up to mate with it. Where the blind one put his hand on the small piece of land which had been made, there came red ants. He commenced pushing them into the ground. The more ants he pushed in, the more earth they dug up, constantly increasing the size of the land until our world was made.

The blind younger god knew now why he was to go underground later. He sat on the land after it became large. He kept feeling for his silver fox, which had come up with him in the beginning. He was four days on the ground, sitting steadily in one place. The two gods sitting by the fire made the two wild cats, the red wild cat of the east and the blue wild cat of the west.

The brothers disputed over the ownership of the silver fox which had come up with the younger brother. Maiyoha secretly put the red fox (parxau) behind his younger brother to deceive him. He asked his younger brother, "Is your fox still with you?" The blind younger brother felt the fur of the animal behind him and replied, "No."

¹⁷ In a version of the creation myth presented by Dr. Waterman (*The Religious Practices of the Diegueño Indians*, present series, VIII, 341, 1910) a wild cat dance is mentioned. The context does not make clear whether it is a Diegueño dance or not.

After three days the silver fox, which was also blind, went into the ground. It is in the ground now. The younger brother went into the ground too, because he was angry over the deception practised by his older brother, Maiyoha. He went right into the earth again. After he went down a hole was left. Maiyoha tried to cover the hole with dirt scraped with his foot. He held his foot over the hole, but he had no dirt between his toes. Disease came up through the openings between his toes. It was made by the injured brother in his anger over the exchange of foxes. He was angry because his brother had thus taken advantage of his blindness.

Maiyoha, the one who stayed on earth, felt sad over his younger brother leaving him. He then made a man and a woman from clay. He made a fire and laid one piece of clay at one side of the fire and another piece at the opposite side. The man was perfect but the woman popped to pieces. Maiyoha then pulled a whisker from his chin and laid it between the legs of the image he had remodeled for the woman. The images lay beside the fire where he left them. They were dumb. All people sprang from this pair and because they knew nothing, Indians today lack knowledge of machinery and other inventions of civilization.

The god watched the images during the night. Toward morning he thought he heard them talking. At daybreak he said to himself, "I believe that I have accomplished a great undertaking. There is no need of my remaining here. Since I have done so excellently, I may as well go up into the sky."

The people asked the god how they had come into being. He told them that it was through his will and through the manner in which he had made them. He watched them as they looked at each other. They came together and slept. The god Maiyoha, the older brother, went to the sky, where he is now. The earth from which the two figures were made was Teaipakomat or Teakumat,¹⁸ the first man.

The two people he had created could not see. After remedying this defect the god Maiyoha went to the sky. As he departed to the sky he said, "I have made everything: the earth, the sun, the moon, the people." His younger brother had gone into the ground. The two created beings, the first man and the first woman were the progenitors of mankind. The morning following their first slumber children were born.

After the people had become very numerous, they prepared for a keruk (image) ceremony at Wikami.¹⁹ After this ceremony the red wild cat asked, "Are we to live and multiply forever, or are we to die?"

Wild cat led the people from Wikami in a great arc to the north and west until he reached the seashore, then south along the coast, and finally to the region of Campo. The red wild cat turned back at Wikelel, east of Imperial Valley. From that point the people were led by the blue wild cat.

¹⁸ Teakumat is said to mean literally teak, woman, and mat, earth. The names Teaipakomat and Teakumat correspond with the names Tuchaipa and Yokomatis or Yokomat, given by Miss Du Bois for the creator and his younger brother. She states that these two names are sometimes given as one: Chaipakomat (Jour. Am. Folk-Lore, xxi, 229, 1908; and Congr. Intern. American., xv, Quebec II, 131, 1906). Teaipakomat was obtained by Dr. Waterman as the name of the creator, the older brother (present series, viii, 338, 1910).

¹⁹ Identified by my informant with Chimney Peak, near the Colorado River, Imperial County, California. By a Diegueño informant of Miss Du Bois' Wikami is located in Mohave territory (Am. Anthr., n.s., vii, 627, 1905). The Mohave counterpart of Wikami is called Avikwane and is identified with Dead or Newberry Mountain in southern Nevada (A. L. Kroeber, Jour. Am. Folk-Lore, xix, 315, 1906).

Wild plum (akai) and chemise brush (epi) were here (at Campo) for the people to eat and to burn. The people argued over how they should live. They called on lizard to help them to decide. Lizard asked if they were satisfied. They replied, "Yes. We will do whatever you say. We will live here and die here." This is the end of the story about the coming of the people to the Campo region.

The people at Wikami wished to obtain songs and ceremonies. An immense snake named Maihiyowita lived in the water at the south end of the world. Sandhill crane (mekolk) was sent to invite the snake to Wikami, because he possessed all songs and ceremonies. Sandhill crane cried all the way to the snake's house and all the way back, so that the people would know that he was coming and would enlarge the dance house.

Maihiyowita asked sandhill crane, "Why did you come?" Sandhill crane replied, "The people sent me after you. They want songs of different kinds." The snake said he would go and crane told him to arrive at Wikami late in the afternoon. Sandhill crane returned and told the people that he had delivered their message and that the snake was coming. The snake was very large, being about a foot and one-half in diameter. The snake coiled in the house which the people made for him so that he completely filled it. They kept extending it until daylight, when they set fire to it. They set fire to the house with the snake in it, because he would not divulge the songs. The snake burst. The larger portion of him slid back southward; the smaller portion remained at Wikami, where it is still visible together with the tracks of the people. A portion of the snake's knowledge flew over to Campo, where it was secured by the people. The following are the songs which were thus secured by the Campo Diegueño: Tcaiyautai, Tomant,²⁰ Tuharl, Hataumaltaiye, Sil,²¹ Atcawhal,²² Urorp,²³ Hurlturli,²⁴ Tipai, and Isa.

The following data refer to the Northern Diegueño. An informant (Tomaso Curo) at Mesa Grande, San Diego County, gave me the names of twelve Northern Diegueño clans and of one Southern Diegueño clan, the Kwatl (see p. 168). All of the Mesa Grande clans lived at Mesa Grande only in the summer and at a place known as Pamo in the winter. The name Pamo, Tomaso Curo informed me, means "a hole worn in the rock by water." Dr. Kroeber obtained from Rocendo Curo, Tomaso's brother, the following derivation: paum, to sit; mu, a bush. The elevation of Pamo is about nine hundred feet; that of Mesa Grande is thirty-three hundred feet. Pamo village, located in a valley now known by that name, lay downstream from Mesa Grande about nine miles and is spoken of as the real home of the Diegueño now living permanently at Mesa Grande.

²⁰ Recorded by Miss Du Bois as Tutomunp (present series, VIII, 123, 1908). Probably equivalent to Mohave Tumanpa (according to A. L. Kroeber).

²¹ Probably Esily (salt).

²² Possibly to be identified with Kachawharr, recorded by Miss Du Bois (Jour. Am. Folk-Lore, XXI, 229, 1908).

²³ Recorded by Miss Du Bois as Orup (present series, VIII, 124, 1908).

²⁴ Probably equivalent to "Horloi," the name of a Northern Diegueño dance (T. T. Waterman, present series, VIII, 320, 1910).

Formerly strangers caught poaching in the Mesa Grande region were killed.

1. Kukuro. This word is said to mean "dark" or "shaded." This is the clan of Tomaso Curo, whose ancestors lived at San Diego Mission and at Tijuana, Lower California. He was not certain of the original home of the clan.

2. Leteapa. This name is said to mean "short," although this is not the meaning of Spanish La Chapa, which this name appears to be. A family by the name of La Chapa is attributed to Manzanita, San Diego County, by Dr. Waterman.²⁵

3. Matuwir. This name is said to mean "hard like rock." This clan is said to have been very numerous in former times, occupying the country for eight miles to the south of Mesa Grande. Miss Du Bois gives this as one of the Indian names of Cinon Duro, a Diegueño informant, whose full name she gives as "Ho-ko-yél Mut-a-weér."²⁶

4. Critcak. This is probably the name of a species of owl. The clan bearing this name lived at both Pamo and Mesa Grande.

5. Kwilp. This is said to be the name of a shrub. The clan of this name lived at both Pamo and Mesa Grande.

6. Xesil. This is the name of a small variety of manzanita, which at the present day furnishes berries for jelly. The clan bearing this name lived at the village of Tauwi (San José) on Warner's Ranch at the foot of the "Mesa Grande Mountains."

7. U'u. A species of owl. This clan lived at both Pamo and Mesa Grande.

8. Baipa. A clan living at Santa Ysabel.

9. Esun. A clan living at Santa Ysabel.

10. Gwaha.²⁷ A species of wormwood (*Artemisia*). This is the name of a Santa Ysabel clan.

11. Tuman. This name is said to mean "grasshopper." This clan was scattered, living at Mesa Grande, Santa Ysabel, and elsewhere. At present members of it live at Capitan Grande. The informant distinctly stated that this was not the Tuman clan of the Southern Diegueño (see p. 168).

12. Xipuwate. A Santa Ysabel clan.

The Northern Diegueño clans are exogamous. The clan of a child is always that of its father. A woman is said to become a member of her husband's clan, a custom at variance with the reported Southern Diegueño custom. It may be that the informant interpreted living with the husband's clan as becoming a member of it. However, as descent is patrilinear with both Southern and Northern Diegueño, the fact that the wife becomes, or does not become, a member of her husband's clan in no way affects the result.

Each clan had an hereditary chief known as a kwaipai or kutcut. The widow of a chief might perform the functions of her deceased husband. The chief's assistant was called koreau. Some members

²⁵ Analysis of the Mission Indian Creation Story, Am. Anthr., n.s., XI, 52, footnote, 1909.

²⁶ Religious Ceremonies and Myths of the Mission Indians, Am. Anthr., n.s., VII, 621, 1905.

²⁷ Dr. Kroeber obtained the words "ily gwaxan" for "woods."

of a clan were scattered, but when the clan gave a ceremony, the chief recalled the scattered members to assist. My informants assigned the scattering to the necessity of making a living and to deaths in the family. The first cause did not operate in ancient times.

At Pamo, where several of the Northern Diegueño clans lived, there was a village chief (also called kwaipai) in addition to the hereditary clan chiefs. The village chief was elected. Each clan owned an eagle (or more likely a pair of eagles), and the feathers of an eagle killed ceremonially were used for the making of a feather skirt.²⁸ Other ceremonies with animal motives occur following dreams and when animals are killed under peculiar circumstances. If a man dreams of a rattlesnake he must give a dance afterwards. A year before my visit at Mesa Grande, a wild cat was killed while trying to enter a house. The man who killed it had to give a propitiatory dance.

The information from Northern Diegueño informants does not seem to indicate as definite a localization of the clans as do the Southern Diegueño data. It is possible that removal to the missions and subsequent segregation on reservations has effaced the knowledge of the original distribution of clans from the minds of the Northern Diegueño. The more remote Southern Diegueño, less in contact with the missions, would certainly be more likely to retain such information.

PIMAN CLANS

It seems necessary to reproduce the evidence concerning totemic clans among the Pima and Papago for comparison with the Californian data presented in this paper. The Pima and Papago, like the Californian tribes under consideration, trace descent through males. Mr. Frank Russell²⁹ and Mr. E. S. Curtis³⁰ have published brief accounts of the Pima clan system. These do not agree in certain respects and are therefore quoted in full. Mr. Curtis has published also an account of the Papago clan system,³¹ which is likewise quoted in full.

The following quotation presents Mr. Russell's Pima data:

Descent is traced in the male line and there are five groups that may be called gentes, though they exert no influence upon marriage laws nor do they manifest

²⁸ The eagle ceremony is described by Dr. Waterman (present series, VIII, 314, 1910).

²⁹ 26th Ann. Rep. Bur. Am. Ethn. for 1904-1905 (1908), 197.

³⁰ The North American Indian (Cambridge, University Press, 1908), II, 9.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

any evidences of organization so far as ascertained. The names of these groups have lost all meaning. They are called Á'kol, A'pap, A'pūki, Ma'am, and Va'-af.

The first three are known as the Vulture or Red People, the last two as the Coyote or White People. However, they are spoken of as the Suwuki O'himal and Sto'am O'himal, or Red Ants and White Ants.³² In the Pima creation myth presented in full in this memoir reference is made to black ants, teoteik tatany, and to the termite, hiapite, but no connection is supposed to exist between them and the o'himal.

The Red People are said to have been in possession of the country when Elder Brother brought the White People from the nether world and conquered them as described on page 226. There were more than two gentes of the White People, but Coyote laughed too soon at them and the earth closed before the others got through. The author suspects that this division signifies that the tribe was formed by the junction of two peoples, the only trace of the original groups being the names and the maintenance of the laws of vengeance.

Mr. Curtis says of the Pima:

The Pima have five tribal divisions, known as *wū' makūlt*, which may be designated phratries, as they are aggregations of gentes with totemic names. Children belong to the father, whom they call by the phratral name. The five totemic names, all synonymous with the word "father" and bearing obscure meanings, are Ápap, Apk, Mam, Vâh, and Okali. Ápap and Apk are associated with the coyote, and Mam and Vâh with the buzzard. The people of the first four are numerous, but of the Ókali only a few representatives survive. This division, according to the genesis myth, was broken in its inception, only a few succeeding in reaching the upper world. Marriage within a phratry seems never to have been prohibited; marriage was without ceremony, and was often soon followed by separation.

Of the Papago he says:

There are five gentile groups, though it can hardly be said that any strict gentile organization now exists. Children belong to the father's group. The creation myth tells how, when Chū wūtū ma'ke's destroying horde marched up into this world from the east, the first to come were those who were to call their fathers Ápap; then came those whose fathers were to be Apk, Mam, Vâf and A'kūli respectively. These names were no doubt totemic in their origin, but only the first and third can be identified. Ápap is associated with the coyote, Mam with the buzzard. There is no general word for father; to each individual "father" is simply the name of his gens, if such groups may be so called. A member of the Apk gens, for instance, calls his father *myū' apkī*, of the Mam gens, *nyūm'am*, *nyū* meaning "my." Collectively the members of the gentes are called Ápapakam, Ápkikam, Mámakam, Váfakam, and A'kuli kam.

Of so little importance are the gentes that marriage within them is not prohibited, or even regarded as unusual.

Mr. Curtis' list of five Pima clans agrees with Mr. Russell's. It is clear from both accounts that there is a perhaps loose grouping of the clans in two opposed moieties. Mr. Russell identifies one moiety

³² "a The same divisions exist among the Papagos, and José Lewis, who interpreted for Professor McGee, submitted specimens of the ant as examples of the insects referred to as 'o'himal.'"

with coyote, white ant, and white; the other with vulture (= buzzard), red ant, and red. For the vulture moiety Mr. Russell lists the A'kol, A'pap, and A'pũkĩ groups, for the coyote moiety the Ma'-am and Va'-af groups. Mr. Curtis on the other hand reverses this arrangement, placing Ma'-am (Mam) and Va'-af (Vâh) in the vulture moiety, and Ápap and Apk in the coyote moiety. With regard to the Papago, Mr. Curtis also states that "Ápap is associated with the coyote, Mam with the buzzard," as in Pima society. The Pima use of three synonymous terms for each moiety is reminiscent of similar nomenclature of the Miwok moieties.³³

A feature of the Piman clans comparable with the Yuman clan names for women is the special and distinctive term for "father" in each clan.

The Papago information secured by Dr. Kroeber from Mr. Juan Dolores, a member of that tribe and author of a paper on "Papago Verb Stems,"³⁴ agrees in part with that submitted by Mr. Curtis and also adds some new facts. Mr. Dolores remembered only four clans. He disagreed with Mr. Curtis by assigning okolĩ (A'kũlĩ) instead of Mam to the buzzard. The following paragraphs present the data secured by Dr. Kroeber from Mr. Dolores:

The ordinary Papago term for father is ok, my father nyok. In using this general, or non-clan, term for father, "it would not be clear where people belong," Mr. Dolores said. He is of the (red) uhhimaLi clan himself and would normally call his father by this clan's term nyimam; in rare cases he might use the general term nyok. The Papago totemic clans together with the terms for father may be briefly listed as follows:

Buzzard (nyu^hwĩ) people call father okolĩ.

Coyote (pan) people call father ahpar.

(Red) uhhimaLi (an insect) people call father mam.

White uhhimaLi (an insect)³⁵ people call father va'aw.

A Papago myth referred to by Mr. Dolores, relates how four brothers "took" these four "names," or "relationships," or "signs."

³³ E. W. Gifford, *Miwok Moieties*, present series, XII, 140, 1916; C. H. Merriam, *Indian Village and Camp Sites in Yosemite Valley*, *Sierra Club Bull.*, X, 203, 1917.

³⁴ Present series, X, 241-263, 1913.

³⁵ The uhhimaLi is larger than ant or spider (Itiuch). It lives singly in holes in ground; has no wings; stings; has hair on back. Some are reddish, some whitish.

The question, "What clan-relationship do you follow?" would be stated in Papago as follows:

cahtyo'ot
What

mü
(interrogative)

wüo-mokahli
with-go

In the case of Mr. Dolores the answer would be "uhhimaLI" and not mam; in other words the name of the group or totem and not the special word for father.

Descent in these groups is entirely paternal. One can marry within his clan group but not within his family or village. All in a village are considered related. The clan groups are not locally limited. All occur in every village, except the white uhhimaLI, which is now quite rare.

Without further data it is impossible to say whether or not village exogamy is a recent innovation which has taken the place of clan exogamy. The absence of clan exogamy would seem to indicate that the clans as such have disintegrated.

SHOSHONEAN CLANS AND MOIETIES

The Serrano, the Cahuilla, the Cupeño, and the Luiseño of southern California are organized on the basis of exogamous, patrilinear, and apparently localized, clans. The clans of the Serrano, Cahuilla, and Cupeño are grouped in two exogamous moieties, which are totemic, being identified with the wild cat (tukut) and the coyote (isil in Cahuilla and Cupeño; wahil in Serrano). The Luiseño clans are not grouped in moieties. The Serrano, Cahuilla, and Cupeño clans are exogamous as components of the moieties; that is, a member of the wild cat moiety marries only a member of a clan of the coyote moiety. The clans of the Luiseño are exogamous and non-totemic, though at present quite thoroughly disintegrated. On the one hand they appear to have disintegrated into families as far as reckoning descent is concerned and on the other hand to have become amalgamated into "parties" or religious societies as far as ceremonial functions are concerned. Membership in the parties or religious societies extends beyond the range of even mythical kinship reckoned paternally.

In considering the data presented in the following pages, it must be remembered that the Luiseño were long in charge of Spanish Fran-

ciscan missionaries, while some of the Serrano, Cahuilla, and probably the Cupeño were never converted in the mission period and others were under Spanish control for a shorter time than the Luiseño.

SERRANO³⁶

The Serrano are organized on the basis of exogamous totemic moieties. One moiety is called wahilyam, and has as totems coyote (wahil), the chief totem for which the moiety is named, buzzard (widukut), and wolf (wanats). The other moiety is called tukum, and has as totems wild cat (tukut), the chief totem for which the moiety is named, crow (gateawa), and mountain lion (tukuteu). The names of the first two totems mentioned for each moiety were volunteered by the informant. Wolf and mountain lion were added in response to my query. Wolf is said to be coyote's older brother and mountain lion wild cat's older brother. Vulture is considered a relative of coyote's, and crow a relative of wild cat's. The totem is called nükkrüg (my great grandparent) or nüñakau. The use of the term for great grandparent for totem has parallels in the other southern California Shoshonean tribes, as have the totems coyote and wild cat. The creator Pakrokitat is said to have assigned the totems. People of different moieties, especially relatives, often jokingly called each other coyotes and wild cats. Coyote people are reputed swift in their movements, wild cat people slow and lazy in theirs. People are said to have killed their totems. The totems are believed to have been originally men, who later became animals, a belief held with regard to the entire animal kingdom.

Serrano society is also organized on the basis of localized clans, or possibly local groups, in addition to moieties. These bear a striking resemblance to the localized Cahuilla groups (see p. 186). Certain of the names of these supposed clans have previously been secured by Dr. Kroeber as place names, a fact which makes it conceivable that these Serrano divisions are merely local groups. On the other hand, it seems to be more in accord with the facts to regard them as localized clans. Eight of the fourteen groups listed below were assigned by informants to one or the other of the two moieties. Each of these eight groups was exogamous as a member of one of the moieties, patrilinear in descent, and possessed its hereditary chief (kika) and

³⁶ The data on Serrano social organization were secured entirely at Banning from the following informants: Benjamin Morongo (about 80 years of age), Rose Morongo, Elizabeth Martin, and Miguel Sabateo.

hereditary ceremonial assistant (paha). The following list includes some northern Serrano groups, although it primarily consists of southern Serrano groups. It is undoubtedly quite fragmentary.

1. Morongo. This clan, which is called Marongam by the Cahuilla, is the one most numerous represented on the reservation at Banning to-day. The members of it have adopted Morongo as their surname. This clan belongs to the coyote moiety. Bear Valley (Hatauva) was the Morongo home. They also claimed Yucaipa, Akavat (a place back of Beaumont, the name of which is said to mean "ear"), Mission Creek (Yamisevul), and Durka (Big Morongo), although Durka was mentioned by one informant as Mohiyanim territory.

2. Mohiyanim. This clan is represented to-day at Banning. It lived with the Morongo clan in ancient times and seems to have been the favored clan in marriages. It belongs to the wild cat moiety. This name in the form Möhineyam has been used by Dr. Kroeber for the northern Serrano living along the Mohave River (Shoshonean Dialects of California, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., iv, 139, 1907).

3. Mukunpat. This clan is of the wild cat moiety and lived with the Morongo and Mohiyanim clans. It intermarried with the Morongo clan.

4. Atiaviat. A coyote clan living at Mission Creek (Yamisevul). Atiaviat is said to mean "something big." Miguel Sabateo belongs to the Atiaviat clan. The Atiaviat never married the Morongo, but married Mohiyanim and Mukunpat. The Morongo formerly visited Mission Creek for a certain kind of seed.

5. Kaiyuwat. This clan (?) is said to have lived north of the San Bernardino Mountains, across from San Manuel Reservation. It plays an important rôle in the Morongo clan legend to be related later.

6. Maviatum. This clan (?) inhabited Maviat, the Mohave River region, north of the San Bernardino Mountains.

7. Amakhavit. A third Serrano clan (?) living north of the San Bernardino Mountains. From west to east these northern clans (?) are Maviatum, Kaiyuwat, and Amakhavit. Undoubtedly these Amakhavit are the mysterious Amakhau or Amakhaba of whom Dr. Kroeber makes the following statements (Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., iv, 136, 1907): "The Mohave are still known to the Tehachapi-Tulare tribes as people living on a distant large river, from whom visitors occasionally came. The Yokuts informant from whom part of the Kitanemuk vocabulary was obtained called them Amakhau, the Tübatulabal informant Amakhaba; the latter regarded their language as similar to Kitanemuk, from which of course it is utterly distinct. Of the two Yokuts informants at Tejon, who also called them Amakhaba, one characterized them as 'muy bravos'; the other classed their language as distinct, with some words somewhat resembling Kitanemuk. It is curious that this belief that there is in the Tejon region a tribe similar or linguistically related to the Mohave, should exist both among the Mohave themselves, the Yokuts, and the Shoshoneans, without the least apparent basis." In the light of the Serrano statement to the effect that the Amakhavit are Serrano, the statements of Dr. Kroeber's Tübatulabal and Yokuts informants with regard to the Kitanemuk (Serrano) affinities of the Amakhaba language take on a new color.

8. Yuhaviat. Yuhaviat is said to mean "pine men." This clan lives now at San Manuel Reservation near Patton, San Bernardino County. It is said to have lived originally in or north of the San Bernardino Mountains, and to have moved to San Manuel after white people came. The original inhabitants of San Manuel, according to Benjamin Morongo, were Gabrieliño, who called the place

Apwimen. Another Gabrieliño village was located one and one-half miles south-east of Colton. Its inhabitants were called Watcap. Benjamin also mentioned the Kiñkiup, Indians who lived on an island in the ocean. This is very clearly Kingki, listed by Dr. Kroeber as "evidently San Clemente Island" (present series, VIII, 38, 1908).

9. Pauwiatum. This is a coyote clan living north of the San Bernardino Mountains. Some people of this clan are said to live at San Manuel Reservation to-day.

10. Kupateca. A wild cat clan living in the San Bernardino Mountains.

11. Tamwionots. This name refers to the sun, and was the name of a wild cat clan living at Mara, Twenty-nine Palms.

12. Timanamuntecoip. A Serrano clan (?) living at Redlands.

13. Tekelkiktum. By Cahuilla informants this was given as the name of a Serrano wild cat clan. The last member of this clan is said to live at San Manuel Reservation.

14. Agutas. This group is identified with people of the Tehachapi Mountains by Benjamin Morongo. One of Dr. Kroeber's informants applied a variant of this term (Agutush-yam) to the Kawaiisu (present series, IV, 140, 1907).

Four of the above groups seem to have dwelt together: Morongo, Atiaviat, Mohiyanim, and Mukunpat, the first two being of the coyote moiety (wahilyam), the second two of the wild cat moiety (tukum).

The following information concerns the Morongo and Mohiyanim clans especially. The data presented were obtained from Benjamin Morongo, a member of the Morongo clan, whose wife was of the Mukunpat clan. Benjamin has perhaps drawn the picture of his own clan in overbright colors, although there seems to be no doubt but what it was the most numerous and most powerful of the group of clans in the San Bernardino Mountains. Since the following data concern in large measure two clans of opposite moieties, it is quite probable that it in similar degree applies to other clans of the two moieties.

Morongo informants, in addition to Benjamin Morongo, stated that it was traditional for Morongo men to marry Mohiyanim women, one informant assigning the origin of this custom to the beginning of the world, when it was so ordered by the deity Pakrokkitat. The custom has broken down under Caucasian rule. Benjamin Morongo stated that there were clan names for men and women, a statement for which I could obtain no verification elsewhere. Benjamin stated that Morongo men were called Morongo, the women Malena, that Mohiyanim men were called Nudi, women Yetcaiwa. Rose Morongo, however, gave Maleñikik as a synonym for Morongo. She said that Maleñikik referred to a place of residence of the Morongo clan (Maleña, the place; kik, living there). If it is true that the men

and women of each clan had special clan names, we certainly have an analogy to the Colorado River Yuman custom by which all of the women of a clan have one name (see p. 156). The personal name of Mrs. Elizabeth Martin's mother, a Morongo woman, was Helinpa, a name given her by her paternal grandfather and having no reference to her clan or moiety.

Each of the clans in question had its chief (kika) who inherited the position from his father. In rare cases when a male heir was lacking a woman succeeded. Each clan also had a ceremonial assistant to the chief called paha, whose chief duties were in connection with ceremonies. Benjamin's father's older brother was a Morongo chief.

Pakrokitat made the Morongo the "governors of the world." At the same time that the Morongo were created, the Mohiyanim seem to have been brought into existence also. The Morongo address each other as brothers and sisters, using, as well as the ordinary terms, the term hamut, which is always applied to one of the opposite sex (see p. 183 for mythological application of this term). The terms for older or younger siblings are used where there is disparity in age. The Mohiyanim have the same usage. The informant said that he would call any Mohiyanim woman aunt, cousin, or sister. The Cahuilla address the Morongo as older brothers, according to the informant.

The reciprocal functions of the two clans seem to have been unequally divided. The Mohiyanim appear to have had more than their share of ceremonial duties. At a ceremony the Mohiyanim cooked for and served the Morongo. They brought "everything, like Santa Claus." These functions, according to the informant, were not reciprocated by the Morongo. On the other hand the Mohiyanim never took the initiative in making a ceremony; the Morongo through their chief did that. It was the business of the Mohiyanim to construct the "tule ceremonial house" and to act as messengers in connection with a ceremony.

In the beginning Pakrokitat made the tule house for the first ceremony. Each mortal chief since his time has had one. At death the body was taken to this house in which it was bewailed for one night. On the following day it was burned. In this connection the relations of the two clans, and incidentally the moieties, seem to have been truly reciprocal, the Morongo tending to the Mohiyanim dead and *vice versa*.

It was a function of the Mohiyanim paha to name the children of both clans, naming them usually after relatives long deceased. As no personal names were obtained, it is impossible to tell whether or not each clan had its special set of names. According to the informant all of the above ceremonial functions were ordained in the beginning by Pakrokitat, while the people were still in the far northern country of their origin. At that time it was ordered that the two clans should intermarry. The two clans hunted together. Coyote is older than any other animal, for he is the Morongo totem and they were first created.

The paha or religious chief had charge of all ceremonial paraphernalia. It was his business to notify people of the fiestas. He talked to the guests at a fiesta, and attended to all commissary arrangements. One Mohiyanim paha, named Melantin Santiago, is left. The ceremonial singer (tcaka) was of the Morongo clan and inherited his position from the father or father's brother. He sang the myths of the creation and of the origin and wanderings of the Morongo. The present tcaka is Thomas Morongo, Benjamin's nephew.

When a man saw a girl he desired in marriage, he spoke to his mother. She took up the matter with the chief (kika) of the man's clan. If the chief favored the match, either he or the man's mother visited the girl's mother. Upon marriage the chief lectured the bridegroom, telling him to hunt, secure food, and care for the girl and her parents. A man gave half of the results of the chase to his wife's parents.

Benjamin Morongo stated that the two clans, Morongo and Mohiyanim, elected a joint chief also called kika, who was always a Morongo. This is quite possibly a modern innovation.

The following myths were recounted by Benjamin Morongo. The first deals with the creation and the origin and wanderings of the Morongo. The second relates to the electric fire ball called Takwite, and the third to the destruction of the village of Wiñi by a hostile spirit, together with its subsequent rehabilitation.

Origin Myth.—First came into existence Pakrokitat, our father. From the left shoulder of Pakrokitat was born Kukitat, Pakrokitat's younger brother.³⁷ Pakrokitat made first a Morongo man. Pakrokitat told him, "You will have company soon." From the right side of the man above the thigh Pakrokitat

³⁷ One informant mentioned another Serrano deity, the goddess Namuyat. Nothing was learned of her attributes. She is undoubtedly to be identified with "Nanamüvyat, six large stones, 'goddesses,' in or near Little Bear valley" (A. L. Kroeber, *Ethnography of the Cahuilla Indians*, present series, VIII, 34, 1908).

made the first Morongo woman.³⁸ He made woman from a piece of the man's flesh called *ateik*. The two were brother and sister. Numerous Morongos were made (born?).

Kukitat hindered the creative work of Pakrokitat. The two argued and quarreled continually. Kukitat wanted people to have hands like ducks' feet, but Pakrokitat objected. Kukitat wanted eyes and bellies in both front and back of people, but Pakrokitat would not allow such an arrangement. Pakrokitat said that people should never sicken, should never die. Kukitat asked, "What will people eat if none dies?" Pakrokitat replied, "We will grow something to eat." Pakrokitat wished people to live forever or to return to life three days after death, but Kukitat objected, saying, "No, we will burn them when they die." Kukitat is the origin of all evil, past and present.

At last Pakrokitat became disgusted with his younger brother Kukitat's machinations and objections to all that he planned, and he said to him, "I am going to leave this world to you. I am going to make another world. Perhaps you can do better here than I. You stay here." In the new world which Pakrokitat made, people do not die.

Pakrokitat, when ready to leave, sang, saying that he was going to another world and that he was leaving this world forever. This world he said would be a "hell," while his world would be a blessed place. "When a person dies," he said, "his 'heart' (*ahun*) will go to the other world, while his body remains behind to rot."

Upon leaving his brother Pakrokitat went first into the ocean, where he created the island of *Paiyait*.³⁹ Pakrokitat then made from a piece of flesh above his left thigh bone the three Pananam, beautiful goddesses, who reside in *Paiyait*. After visiting *Paiyait*, Pakrokitat passed with his eagle southeast along the San Gorgonio River searching for his new world. After reaching his new world, he never returned.

The three Pananam (= "water women") are called "*hamova*."⁴⁰ The soul of the deceased goes first to *Paiyait*, the home of the three goddesses, because that is where Pakrokitat went first when seeking another world. The souls of wicked people are often unable to find the road to *Paiyait*, and are forced to remain upon earth. The three goddesses instruct the soul of the deceased as to the road to Pakrokitat's world. From *Paiyait* two trails lead, one to Pakrokitat's land, the other to the world of darkness where the souls of the wicked dwell. The three goddesses read the soul of the deceased and know whether its acts upon earth have been good or evil. They send it along either trail accordingly. The place of darkness is called *Tripyat*⁴¹ and a portion of it, where the wicked are boiled, is called *Patmonat* (= "hot water").⁴²

The Morongo came from the far north. As they moved southward they followed a pure white eagle, which was the bird of Kukitat. This bird had thirteen tail feathers, while other eagles have but twelve. *Kwiriakaite* (Mount

³⁸ Probably Biblical.

³⁹ The informant said this name meant "heart alive;" heart, however, is given as *-hun* in the paragraph above.

⁴⁰ Said to mean "our sisters [who live in the ocean]," although the actual meaning of "*hamova*" is probably simply "sisters." The term *hamut* is used when speaking of one. *Hamut* is also the term which may be used by a man to his sister or a woman to her brother.

⁴¹ Cf. Yokuts *Tripiñu* (at the above, or at the supernatural), the name of a place in Kitanemuk Serrano territory (A. L. Kroeber, present series, iv, 139, 1907).

⁴² Aboriginal?

San Gorgonio) became the home of this wonderful eagle. It was also inhabited by several white bears which normally dwell in a small lake on the mountain. A seven-headed snake likewise lives upon it. Kwiriakaite is the property of the Morongo.

Both Pakrokitat and Kukitat came with the Morongo to their present home. Then ensued the separation of the brothers, and later the death of Kukitat together with the disappearance of the white eagle. After the departure of Pakrokitat, Kukitat dwelt with mankind for thirty years. It was after Pakrokitat departed that men were divided into tribes and began to speak different languages. They tried to shoot each other with arrows, but could not hit one another. This was all due to Kukitat's evil schemes.

When the people became tired of Kukitat because of the wars he instigated, they decided to kill him by witchcraft. They employed the frog (wakat) to kill him. Kukitat was in the habit of defecating in the ocean. The frog waited in the waters below and swallowed his excrement. Kukitat realized that the frog was below him, but could not see it. He knew that something was wrong, because usually when the excrement sank in the ocean there were three rumbles. On this occasion there was no noise. Kukitat poked downward with his javelin (?), the blade of which ran down the frog's back, making the marks which are now there. The frog had poison in its mouth. Contact of this poison with the excrement caused Kukitat to become ill.

Kukitat sent crow to fetch a doctor when he fell sick. Crow ate the eyes of dead people and became black from staying in mud.

When Kukitat lay dying in the early morning he told the people to burn his body, but not to bury it, for he feared that coyote would eat it. He sent coyote far north to obtain wood for the funeral pyre. Before coyote's return the body was placed upon the pyre and almost entirely consumed. Coyote returned and saw the people assembled about the funeral pyre of Kukitat. Coyote said, "What are you burning? I want to see my father." The people were standing close together and he could not squeeze through the line. Badger, however, was bow-legged and coyote squeezed through between his legs and stole Kukitat's heart. Animals were still people at that time.

The body of Kukitat was burned at Hatauva⁴³ (Bear Valley), a well-watered region in the San Bernardino Mountains. On the spot where it was burned came a spring, which is now hidden beneath a reservoir. In his youth the informant saw the spring and saw the marks on the ground where the people had danced around the pyre.

After Kukitat's death people fought as before his death. They fought over food. The Morongo were annihilated in the fighting, but one man escaping. This man married a Kaiyuwat woman. The man died, but the woman gave birth to a boy baby. When the boy grew up he thought and dreamed for three nights about himself. He asked his mother about the land of his father's people. She told him that the land of the Morongo was his. The woman's father, seeing him in such a pensive mood, thought that his grandson was ill. The boy told his grandfather that he was going to his own country, which made the old man very sad. The woman took her son toward Morongo land. They arrived at a Mohiyanim village and remained there for a while. The chief (kika) of the village came home from a hunt. His wife told him that strangers were stopping with

⁴³ Perhaps Hatauva is the place called Tova in Luiseño. Dr. Kroeber writes: "Wiyot died at Tova near Maronge, north of the San Jacinto Mountains where the Serrano (Maringayam) live." (Two Myths of the Mission Indians of California, Jour. Am. Folk-Lore, xix, 313, 1906.)

them. The chief asked who the boy's father was and the boy's mother told him. They went to the "big house" and sang all night. In the morning the boy married the two daughters of the chief. The boy became the progenitor of the modern Morongo.

Takwite.—Takwite, an evil person, had been annoying a woman. Coyote had one arrow and attempted to kill Takwite, whose body was a golden walking stick. Coyote's arrow broke the gold stick which formed Takwite's body. Takwite flew away to Mount San Jacinto and became the electric fire ball. He attacks people at times and throws them into a fire which he kindles. Takwite has a house on Mount San Jacinto in which there is reputed to be much gold.

A Cahuilla boy living in Cahuilla Valley was once taken by Takwite to his home on the mountain. The people of the boy's village had gone out to gather acorns, which the region furnishes in abundance. The boy and his baby sister were left alone at home. Takwite came and took the boy away. In Takwite's house, the boy saw many captives of various tribes. Each night Takwite brought home more captives, often removing their eyes. There were many bones in Takwite's house. He kept the boy for three days and then released him. He made the boy promise to tell no one of what he had seen for three days. The three days, however, were really to be three years. The boy's mother questioned him as to where he had been, but to no avail. When the three years had expired the boy told his mother and prepared to make a ceremony. He had secured supernatural power from Takwite. He could remove his head and arms and replace them, making himself whole again. This he did in the ceremony in the middle of the night. After his dance he retired. He was dead in the morning.

Destruction of Wiñi.—Near the village of Wiñi (near Corona, Riverside County) was a rock on a hill. In this rock lived a spirit named Tuit. A little girl in the village, two or three years old, cried incessantly until her mother in anger threw her out of the house. The spirit Tuit took the child to his house that night. Tuit raised the child, whose name was Pahalali.

Gopher (miñat) lived with the spirit. When five or six years old the girl asked gopher what the fire and smoke was which she saw so frequently. It was really the spirit. Gopher told the girl that the smoke arose from where the spirit cooked. The water which the spirit gave the girl was urine, the salt was mucus. "The spirit is not your mother," gopher said. The girl asked about her mother three times and gopher answered thrice.

The girl said one day, "I should like to go to my mother." Gopher replied, "You can go, but the spirit may kill you. I will make two holes for you. You go under the water toward Temescal." The girl went as directed and arrived at Wiñi. People asked her whence she had come. She replied, "My mother told me when I was small that a spirit would get me. He did get me and raised me."

Gopher said, "Tell your mother to put you in a bundle and place you in the 'big house.' Have all the people watch you. The spirit will look for you and try to kill you." The girl repeated to her mother that which the gopher had said. The woman then put her daughter in a bundle and placed her in the "big house." The chief prepared for a fiesta. Gopher again instructed, saying, "Tell your mother to heat a rock very hot. When the spirit asks for you, tell him to open his mouth to receive you. Then shove the hot rock into his mouth."

After dark the spirit came home and asked for Pahalali. He asked Gopher about Pahalali. Gopher said, "I saw her playing here but a short while ago." The spirit then threw into the air a magic basket to determine in which direction Pahalali had gone. The spirit followed the basket toward the "big house" in which Pahalali was concealed. The spirit arrived at the door and asked for

Pahalali. The girl's mother said, "Open your mouth for your Pahalali." She threw the hot rock into his mouth. The spirit shouted "Haa!" in pain, kicked in the house, and ate all of the people except one old woman and a dog, who were covered with a basket.

The surviving old woman cried as she searched for her people, but she could do nothing. She wandered here and there. While the old woman was away, the dog became a boy and killed rabbits. The woman returned and asked the dog, "Who killed the rabbits?" The dog only wagged his tail in response. After two months, the old woman, who had become quite strong, went a long way. Upon her return she saw a young man at her dwelling. This young man was really her dog. As she approached him she became a young girl. She walked up to him. They married and the village of Wiñi was repopulated. The spirit Tuit was killed by the hot stone at the same time that he destroyed the village and the people.

The informant saw the ruins of Wiñi and asked his mother-in-law about them. She told him the above story.

CAHUILLA

The Cahuilla were visited in two localities, at Banning in San Gorgonio Pass at an elevation of twenty-three hundred feet and at Coachella in the Colorado Desert, seventy-six feet below sea level. The Cahuilla in both localities are organized in exogamous moieties identified with the coyote (isil) and the wild cat (tukut). The coyote moiety is called istam, the wild cat moiety tuktum. Descent is paternal. There is no belief in descent from the totem, but the totems are said to have been men once. This is clearly only an individual application of the general Californian belief that the present animals were once men. Such also is their treatment in Cahuilla mythology. No other animals seem to be associated with coyote and wild cat as totems. Public sentiment as to exogamy is not very strong. Two of the Coachella informants, Captain Jim and his son, married women of their moiety, which is the wild cat.

The Cahuilla moieties are divided into numerous localized, non-totemic clans with paternal descent. The clan name frequently is to be translated as "living at 'such a place'," indicating clearly that at least the natives regard the clans as localized. A clan of the coyote moiety is supposed to seek its mates only in clans of the wild cat moiety, and vice versa. Upon marriage a woman goes to live with her husband. She does not become a member of his clan and moiety, but remains a member of that into which she was born. At the present time the members of certain clans are rather scattered, perhaps due to modern influences. Informants stated, however, that in ancient times there was more or less shifting of clan members from

place to place, due chiefly to deaths, which were followed by the destruction of the dwelling and removal of the family.

Clans are called "tribes" by the present-day Cahuilla, the native term being *taxelo*. Each clan had an hereditary chief called *net*, who was of course a member of the clan. He was actually the "head of the family" in a patriarchal sense, for all members of a clan claim to trace their descent through males from a common male ancestor. The principal duties of a clan chief were in connection with ceremonies. An informant spoke of the clan chief as "(el jefe) *potencio*" and "chief of the *fiesta*." There are no moiety chiefs and no chieftainesses. A chief, appointed by the whites, apparently as a go-between, and exercising power over a number of clans, was said to have been called *teimuluka*. Each chief had an hereditary *paha*, or ceremonial assistant. Clans of both moieties are said to have lived in one village, which would seem to indicate that there were several clan chiefs and ceremonial assistants in each village, a condition paralleled in the present-day Luiseño villages, in each of which there are usually two or more party chiefs (see p. 207). Maria Augustine, my informant at Augustine Reservation near Coachella and a member of the Sewakil clan, stated that at Toro there are two chiefs, Francisco Torres of the wild cat moiety, and Chapo Levi of the coyote moiety, both of whom inherited their positions. At first hand it seemed as though Maria was speaking of true moiety chiefs as among the Yokuts.⁴⁴ A bit of questioning revealed the fact that the chieftains in question are actually the heads of two of the most numerous clans of to-day. Torres is chief of the *Wakwaikiktum* clan, Levi of the *Sewakil* clan. The decimation of other clans and the breaking down of exogamy, the informant said, had given each of these chieftains a wider range of authority than either would have possessed in ancient times. This case among the Cahuilla is of significance in interpreting the so-called "parties" among the Cupeño and Luiseño.

When a clan loses one of its members, people of various clans and of both moieties attend the funeral (*pemtentuwet*). A destruction of property takes place two or three days after the funeral. Both moieties participate. The image ceremony (*nukil*) which takes place six or seven months after a death, and may be held for one person, is likewise participated in by both moieties. In the making of the

⁴⁴ E. W. Gifford, *Dichotomous Social Organization in South Central California*, present series, xi, 294, 1916.

images reciprocity appears, the opposite moiety always performing this function for the bereaved moiety. A mourning ceremony of any sort is always in charge of a clan chief. The people who belong to the moiety of the deceased, both of his clan and of other clans of his moiety, gather money and property, which they turn over to the chief in charge when they prepare for the fiesta.

The following negative data, although of doubtful value, seem worth recording. Coachella informants in answer to queries stated that the Cahuilla lacked the toloache ceremony, the eagle ceremony, the sand painting, and Chungichnish beliefs of the Luiseño and Diegueño. It was also stated that in ancient times there were no ceremonies other than funerary and memorial ceremonies and a girl's ceremony called aulolil in which girls of both moieties were initiated. There was no special individual whose duty it was to light the funeral fire. No moiety paints were used.

Each clan possessed special songs about its enemies. Maria Augustine of the Sewakil clan, used to sing against Captain Jim of the Kauwisikiktum clan. In such singing ceremonies members of other clans of the same moiety are said to have helped in the singing against people of the opposite moiety.

The Cahuilla are said to have a long migration legend, which consumes two or three nights in the telling. The following fragments of myths and beliefs have some bearing upon Cahuilla totemism and seem worth presenting. Two gods, akin in attributes to the Serrano Pakrokitat and Kukitat and to the Cupeño Tumaiyowit and Mukat,⁴⁵ are recognized by the Cahuilla. These are Temaiyowit, who is said to be the partner of, or is identified with, coyote, and Mukat, the partner of wild cat. The Milky Way is said to be the birthplace of these gods. These deities quarreled and Temaiyowit went into the earth. At the time he did so the earth was flat. It nearly capsized when he entered it. An eclipse of the moon which occurred during my visit was regarded as the result of the spirits of the dead trying to eat it.

All of the clans are said to have come from elsewhere in the time of the god Mukat. This agrees with the Morongo legend (see p. 182) of the movements of Serrano clans in the time of the god Kukitat, the Serrano counterpart of Mukat. The Cahuilla speak of Mukat as a naa, or leader, not as a net, or chief.

The eagle Aswetsei was the mythical leader of the Sewakil clan of the coyote moiety. In the mountains to the west of Coachella is a rock where this deity rested. The marks in the rock show the

position of his chin, elbows, and feet. The marks of his feet have been damaged by white people. Aswetsei "goes with" coyote, and may possibly be regarded as an associated totem. Clans of the wild cat moiety are said to have come from the northwest. The coyote clans are said to have come from the region of Riverside (also to the northwest), proceeding first to Sewiat, a (mythical?) locality in the San Jacinto Mountains. At Sewiat there is a cave with writing (pictographs?), also a "big rock house." This is beyond the house of the cannibal spirit Takwite on San Jacinto Mountain. The people who lived in ancient times have turned to rock at Sewiat. The gods died there. When the god Mukat died, people did not know which way to go. Mukat had appointed no chiefs. Each clan took its section of land. Each was named after its place of residence. The two gods originally named people and assigned to each family and individual his moiety.

Mukat made the sun (tamyat) from his heart. The sun is of the wild cat (tukut) moiety. It is a man who went to the sky. When the sun was made, Mukat could not hold it, for it was too bright. It slipped away and went up into the sky. The moon (menil) is of the coyote moiety. The moon is a woman and taught people a string game (cat's cradle?). Temaiyowit made menil, the moon.

Taxotesinigie, a wild cat man, had a sister. The sister was not yet ready to be named, although the god Mukat gave the names in the beginning. Taxtemyauwitcem, a coyote man, lived at Sewiat. Taxotesinigie sent his sister to marry him.

The following list of clans, living chiefly in the desert region northwest of the Salton Sea, was obtained from three informants. Next to nothing was obtained concerning the mountain Cahuilla and those of the San Gorgonio Pass. The residence of each clan is given after its name. The ending -kiktum of many of the clan names is said to mean "living there." It is to be noted that none of these clan names is to be identified with the names of the present-day Cahuilla villages listed by Dr. D. P. Barrows⁴⁵ as follows: Malki, Sechi, Kavinish, Pal tewat, Pal seta, Temalwahish, Sokut Menyil, Lawilvan, Sivel, Tova, Wewutnowhu, Pachawal, Coahuilla. The

⁴⁵ In the form Mu'kat this name is applied by the Serrano to the "mountains south or southwest of Colton, probably the Sierra Santa Ana" (A. L. Kroeber, *Ethnography of the Cahuilla Indians*, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., viii, 34, 1900).

⁴⁶ The *Ethno-Botany of the Coahuilla Indians of Southern California*, 32, University of Chicago Press, 1900.

clans of each moiety are listed in geographic order from northwest to southeast.

WILD CAT MOIETY

1. Kilyiñakiktum. Mission Creek.
2. Kauwisikiktum. The clan of Captain Jim and his son Will Jim, Coachella informants. This clan lives also at Palm Springs, from which place the Coachella branch is said to have been derived several generations ago. Kauwis is said to be the place name of Palm Springs (compare number 17). Dr. Kroeber gives Kawishmu (in Serrano language) as "a small hill east of White Water, marking the boundary between the Wanupiapayum and the desert Cahuilla."⁴⁷
3. Wavitetem. Originally from Indian Well; later, southeast of Thermal; Mecca. The name is said to refer to wavic, mesquite tree.⁴⁸
4. Wansiñatamyañahuteum. Tuba (Tova?) on northeast side of valley near Coachella.
5. Isilsivayauwiteum. South of Coachella.
6. Wankiñakiktum. South of Coachella.
7. Nanhaiyum. Two miles south of Coachella at La Mesa. Ekwawinet was the name of the village.⁴⁹ The husband of Maria Augustine belonged to this clan.
8. Telkiktum. Two miles south of Coachella.
9. Aiyelmukut. South of Coachella. Lived with the Nanhaiyum.
10. Panatkakiktum. Thermal; came from west to Thermal. Perhaps this clan is the same as Panasakiktum (no. 11).
11. Panasakiktum. Six or seven miles southeast of Coachella. Compare no. 10.
12. Tuikiktum. Southeast of Thermal.
13. Wakwaikiktum. Maulim, Toro. The mother of Maria Augustine belonged to this clan, which came from hot springs near Warner's Ranch, but was not Cupño. Compare clan no. 22 of the coyote moiety (p. 191). The name is said to refer to the water. Wakwi,⁵⁰ the Luiseño name for either "El Toro or Cabezon," certainly is to be connected with Wakwaikiktum.
14. Tamolañiteim. Toro; Agua Dulce.
15. Autaatem. Martinez. Lived originally on the west side of the valley near Coachella.
16. Auwalim. Martinez. The "dog" clan; from awal, dog; a joke name (compare no. 22, Iswetum, "wolf" clan). The wife of Will Jim belongs to this clan.
17. Kauwispaumiyawiteem. Mecca. Kauwis is said to be the place name of Palm Springs (compare no. 2); paumiyawiteem is said to mean "living among the rocks in the mountains."
18. Walpunidikiktum. Alamo. The mother of Will Jim and wife of Captain Jim belongs to this clan.
19. Palpuniviktum. Alamo.
20. Tamulakiktum. Back of Alamo.

⁴⁷ Ethnography of the Cahuilla Indians, present series, VIII, 35, 1908.

⁴⁸ Dr. Kroeber, however, gives menyikic for mesquite; qwinyal for mesquite screw (present series, VIII, 238, 1909).

⁴⁹ Dr. Barrows gives Temalwahish as the name of the modern village at La Mesa (*op. cit.*, p. 32).

⁵⁰ A. L. Kroeber, Shoshonean Dialects of California, present series, IV, 152, 1907.

21. Palkausinakela. Figtree John west of Salton Sea. This is the clan of a well-known Indian, Figtree John. The name is said to mean "little water coming from a spring." Pal piskalet means "water emerging."

22. Iswetum. Cahuilla Reservation. Plural of iswet, wolf. This name is said to have been given to the people of this clan because of the habit of "eating meat," and was applied as a nickname (compare no. 16, Auwalim, "dog" clan). Dr. Kroeber has obtained Luvus (probably Spanish lobos, wolf) as the name of a "place or tribe south, in vicinity of Cahuilla reservation."⁵¹ It seems likely that it refers to this clan. Both the Iswetum and Auwalim clans are also called Temañakiktum, "low place they lived," as they are believed to have originated at a place called Temaña.

COYOTE MOIETY

1. Wanikiktum. Banning. A Serrano informant gave "Pihatcap" as the name of the original Cahuilla inhabitants of Banning.

2. Wavatum. This is the clan of Jim Pine, and Twenty-nine Palms is given as its home. Dr. Kroeber places Twenty-nine Palms in Serrano territory⁵² and one of my Serrano informants gave it as the home of the Serrano Tamwionots clan.

3. Amnaaviteum. Northwest of Palm Springs. This name contains the same stem as amnawat, large.

4. Haviñaviteum. Palm Springs.

5. Aatsatsum. Indian Well; Happy Point to Palm Springs. This is the clan of Ramon Gracia, a Banning informant. The name is said to mean "a good people." Cf. atai, good.

6. Wova-ikiktum. Indio.

7. Sewakil. Coachella. This is the clan of Maria Augustine, a Coachella informant. Sewakil is the name of a place south of Indio.

8. Ikonikiktum. Lived with the Nanhaiyum.

9. Taukatim. Two or three miles southwest of Coachella.

10. Sawalakiktum. Toro. Originally lived with the Nanhaiyum.

11. Masuviteum. Martinez. The name refers to a sandy place. The Cahuilla word for sand is ñateic.

12. Mumlaitim. Martinez.

13. Wiitām. Martinez. Perhaps the same as Wiyistam (no. 22). Wiitām is said to mean "grasshopper," a name applied to this clan because of the habit of eating grasshoppers.

14. Wansauwum. Martinez. This clan was once flooded out of its home; hence the name from wanyie, flood or stream. Perhaps identical with no. 15;

15. Wanisiwayan. Mecca. Perhaps identical with no. 14.

16. Teviñakiktum. Alamo.

17. Iviatum. Agua Dulce.

18. Kaunakalkiktum. Agua Dulce. This clan lived at a place where a shrub called kaunakal grew.

19. Sasalmayum. Agua Dulce.

20. Kauwistamilakiktum. Agua Dulce.

21. Hunavatikiktum. In the mountains south or southeast of Banning.

22. Wiyistam. San Ysidro. It seems likely that this is the San Ysidro in Cupeño territory (see p. 192). Wild eat clan no. 13 (Wakwaikiktum) appears to have come from the same region.

⁵¹ Ethnography of the Cahuilla Indians, present series, VIII, 35, 1908.

⁵² Ibid., p. 37.

CUPEÑO

The information concerning the social organization of the Cupeño, or Agua Caliente Indians, was secured from Cupeño living on Morongo Reservation at Banning and from the main body of Cupeño concentrated at Pala, San Diego County.

The greater part of the Cupeño data was secured from three informants at Banning. These were Desiderio Laws, Mrs. Tomasa Annis, and her nephew Jose Miguel. Jose Miguel, a half-breed Cupeño, was the first of that tribe to take up his residence at Banning, where he married a Serrano woman of the Mohiyanim clan. The Cahuilla speak of the Cupeño as Kupañakiktum, meaning "living at Kupa," which was the name of the chief Cupeño village located upon Warner's Ranch. A second village of people speaking the same language was located at San Ysidro. It was called Wilakal.⁵³

The Cupeño are organized like the Cahuilla on the basis of exogamous moieties with paternal descent. These moieties are identified with the coyote (isil) and the wild eat (tukut) and are called istam and tuktum. The following myth fragment refers to the origin of the moiety totems.

In the beginning all was dark and void. A bag hung in space. In time it opened out into two halves. From one half came coyote (isil), from the other came wild eat (tukut). They immediately fell to arguing as to which was the older. Coyote was the older because he spoke first. People had been created, but they could not see. They were in mud and darkness. They heard coyote call first and they knew that he was older. The people were not in the bag with coyote and wild eat. They arose from the mud and started to sing. Shamans to-day understand coyote, because people heard him first. The moieties came from the beginning.⁵⁴

Coyote's totemites have the reputation of being quick and active like coyote himself. Wild eat's totemites on the other hand have the reputation of being slow and lazy. The coyote totemites jokingly tell the wild eat people that they are slow and lazy. The two totems are believed to have been men or gods originally, later they became animals. Some informants identified coyote with the god Tumaiyowit and wild eat with the god Mukat. These gods led the people from a northern home. In dances the men and women of the coyote moiety dance in two groups on one side. Wild eat men and women do the same on the other side.

⁵³ Mrs. Julia Johnston, a Pala informant, stated that she was from that village and that the name of her "tribe" was Totcil.

⁵⁴ The last sentence was in response to a question how the moieties originated.

The totem is called wala, which means great-great-grandparent or ancestor. There is no belief in actual descent from the totem.

One Cupeño informant said, that although it was improper for people of the same moiety to marry if they were both of the same tribe, it was not improper for people of the same moiety to marry if they were of different tribes, as for example Cupeño and Cahuilla. This is a reversal of the Yokuts custom in which moiety exogamy is adhered to in intertribal marriages.

In addition to the division into moieties the Cupeño are divided into seven patrilinear clans, four of the coyote moiety and three of the wild cat moiety. Moiety exogamy was the only requisite in marriage, however. A man selected his mate from any one of the clans of the moiety of which he was not a member. The clans are called "parties" by the natives, possibly evincing a different attitude of mind, ceremonial rather than genealogical, from that of the Cahuilla who speak of their clans as "tribes." Each Cupeño clan or party is called a nout, as is its hereditary chief. The Cupeño clans of the coyote moiety are Potamatologic, Tcañalañalic, Kauval, and Nauwilot. The wild cat clans are Auliñawic or Auliat, Sivimoat, and Djutnika. These seven names represent the maximum number of clans mentioned. All seven were not mentioned by any one informant. Certain of the above seven clans are said to be equivalent to certain others. The statements in this regard may be reduced to the following form:

Kauval = Tcañalañalic = Nauwilot.

Djutnika = Auliñawic = Sivimoat.

Potamatologic.

This reduces the number of "parties" to three, for the term "party" is used by the natives indiscriminately for a clan or for a group of fused clans. With the fused or combined clans just listed the native use of the word "party" is not far amiss and will be employed in this paper. "Clan" can only be used for one of the original seven theoretically consanguineous groups. At Pala at present three is the actual number of parties which exercise ceremonial functions. These parties are Auliñawic of the wild cat moiety with which are joined Djutnika and Sivimoat, Nauwilot of the coyote moiety with which are joined Kauval and Tcañalañalic, and Potamatologic of the coyote moiety. The chiefs of these three parties at Pala are Juan Auliñawic of the Auliñawic party, Francisco Laws or

Nauwilot of the Nauwilot party, and Cecilio Potamatoligie (= Black-tooth) of the Potamatoligie party.

The statements of informants as to the uniting of these clans into parties are quite significant, as they throw light upon the changes which have probably taken place in Luiseño society. Djutnika is said by some informants to be only a family name now, the people of that name attaching themselves to the Sivimoat, who in turn follow the lead of the Auliñawic in ceremonial matters. Sivimoat has no chief, since decimated in numbers. Members of the Sivimoat clan join the Auliñawic, who are of their moiety, in all ceremonies. When I was at Pala in January, 1917, a ceremony was scheduled by the Auliñawic clan for a week later. Cinon Sivimoat of the Sivimoat clan told me that his people would take part with the Auliñawic clan under the leadership of Juan Auliñawic. Cinon said that he was now a member of Juan Auliñawic's party. Years ago, he said, the Sivimoat clan had its own chief, but since his death and the decimation of the clan, the members had joined the Auliñawic party. Sivimoat is a "family" name now as well as a clan name. The Tcañalañalic have no chief, since they are decimated in numbers. In ceremonies they join the Nauwilot, who are of their moiety.

The evidence concerning the uniting of the Tcañalañalic, Nauwilot, and Kauval is perplexing in the light of information furnished by Mrs. Tomasa Annis. Mrs. Annis stated that her father's "family" name was Kauval. Her brother is Francisco Nauwilot or Laws, the chief of the Nauwilot "party." With paternal descent it would seem that the brother's name ought to be Kauval instead of Nauwilot. Mrs. Annis said that the three names, Tcañalañalic, Nauwilot, and Kauval were all names for one and the same party. She said that the oldest name of the party was Kauval, that the next name was Tcañalañalic, while Nauwilot is only a nickname. On the other hand, Cecilio Tiperosa, an old man at Pala, said that Nauwilot and Tcañalañalic were not equivalent. The three names probably stand for three original clans as indicated above.

An outsider of another tribe who came to live with the Cupeño might join any party he liked, though it is quite likely that his moiety would be the deciding factor as to which party he did join.

It is clear that we have two organizations in Cupeño society in addition to the exogamous moieties. First, there is the clan with paternal descent and with an hereditary chief called a nout. Second, there is the party, as the natives call it, which has one of the old

clans as a nucleus and has drawn to itself the remnants of the clans which have diminished most in numbers. As has been already pointed out (see p. 187) some such amalgamation of clans has taken place at Toro among the Cahuilla. No information regarding a localization of Cupeño clans was obtained.

Meanings for only two of the Cupeño clan names were forthcoming. Potamatologic is said to mean "black tooth," and Nauwilot to mean "body lice." Auliñawic would seem to have some connection with blood, the word for which in the related Luiseño language is *oula*. Furthermore, *aulinil* is the Cupeño name for the girl's puberty ceremony.

The following list of names, with the clan to which each individual belongs, seems worth recording.

Juan Maria belongs to the Sivimoat clan.

Juan Maria's wife, Ramona, belongs to the Teañalañalic clan.

Cinon Sivimoat belongs to the Sivimoat clan.

Francisco Laws belongs to the Nauwilot clan.

Desiderio Laws, nephew of Francisco, belongs to the Nauwilot clan.

Cecilio Tiperosa belongs to the Auliñawic clan.

Juan Auliñwic belongs to the Auliñawic clan, of which he is chief.

Mrs. Julia Johnston belongs to the Auliñawic clan.

Mrs. Julia Johnston's mother was of the Nauwilot clan.

Mrs. Tomasa Annis, sister of Francisco Laws, belongs to the Kauval clan.

Ambrose and John Ortega are of the Potamatologic clan.

Each hereditary clan chief (*nout*) has an hereditary assistant called *kutvovoc*. The word *kutvovoc* evidently refers to *kut*, fire. Carrying messages for the chief, supervising the preparation of food, and receiving guests seem to be the chief duties of the *kutvovoc*. Juan Auliñwic, chief of the Auliñawic clan, has as *kutvovoc* Cecilio Tiperosa. Mariano Blacktooth, chief of the Potamatologic clan, has as *kutvovoc* Ambrose Ortega. Francisco Laws, chief of the Nauwilot clan, acts as both *nout* and *kutvovoc*, as his *kutvovoc* died without a successor and his clan is small and dwindling in number. There was yet another official, called *paha*, whose duties were restricted to initiation ceremonies. He officiated at the *toloache* ceremony as assistant to the *toloache* chief (see p. 196) and assembled the people when an image or other important memorial ceremony was planned. When Juan Auliñwic gives a ceremony he invites the other two parties, Potamatologic and Nauwilot. The chief of each of these parties does the same when he gives a ceremony. The three wild cat clans, Auliñawic, Djutnika, and Sivimoat, always act as a unit

in ceremonial matters. Opposed to these in such matters are two groups of the coyote moiety, one the Potamatoligic, the other composed of Kauval, Teañalañalic, and Nauwilot. The father of one informant, Mrs. Tomasa Annis, was chief of the Teañalañalic clan. He inherited the position from his paternal uncle.

There were no moiety chiefs. There was recently, however, a village chief who was elected annually. There was no such chieftain in ancient times, however.

Each clan had songs about its enemies. The ceremony in which these were sung is called piniwahat. Dancing formed a part of the ceremony.

When a fiesta is to be given by a coyote clan or party, the members first meet and discuss the matter. At the fiesta, they often cook for and serve the wild cat guests. On the other hand the food may be brought by the clansmen to their kutvovoc, and he turns it over to the kutvovoc of the guest clan, or party, the members of which prepare it. It is eaten by the guests in the "ceremonial house." The hosts eat at home.

In order to ascertain the extent of the ceremonial functions of the clans and parties, informants were questioned with regard to the various ceremonies common to the Cupeño and their neighbors, the Luiseño and Diegueño. Descriptions of these ceremonies among the Luiseño have been published by Miss Du Bois⁵⁵ and among the Diegueño by Dr. Waterman.⁵⁶

The toloache ceremony is called manit paninil (=toloache drinking). A special chief, also called nout, had charge of this, independent of the clan chiefs. A man of the Teañalañalic clan held this position, which was said to be inherited in the male line and restricted to that clan. His assistants, who taught the initiates to dance, were of various clans and of both moieties. The toloache chief selected the boys for initiation.

There was said to be a special teacher for the whirling dance (pukavihat). He was a coyote man of the Potamatoligic clan and taught only Potamatoligic youths except that on one occasion, the informant recollected, a Teañalañalic youth was taught.

The girls' ceremony, ölunika or aulinil, was a clan affair and not a tribal affair as was the boys' toloache ceremony. Each clan

⁵⁵ The Religion of the Luiseño Indians of Southern California, present series, VIII, 69-186, 1908.

⁵⁶ The Religious Practices of the Diegueño Indians, present series, VIII, 271-358, 1910.

"roasted" its own girls, inviting other clans to witness and to sing and dance at the ceremony. In dancing in a ring around the pit in which the girls were placed, the wild cat people kept together, as did the coyote people. All, however, formed a continuous ring. It was stated that the girls' ceremony took place at the time of the image ceremony.

If a coyote clan or party is to kill an eagle, the wild cat people are invited to the ceremony. The feathers taken from the bird are used for dance paraphernalia. A young eagle is often captured and reared. In winter people will go hungry themselves in order to feed the eagle.

If a Cupeño man marries a woman of another tribe, for example a woman of Saboba, and later a child born of this marriage dies, he must give an expensive mourning ceremony to which he invites the Saboba people.

In the matter of mourning ceremonies the clans exercise truly reciprocal functions. A week after a death a ceremony called pisatuil is held at the "assembly house." The people sing all night. First the people of the opposite moiety sing for half of the night. Then the people of the dead person's clan or party sing for the second half of the night.

A month or two after a death, the ceremony called süshomnil is held. In this ceremony property is burned and distributed by the clan of the deceased, his near relatives giving the most. The people of the opposite moiety seize what they wish when the fellow clansmen of the deceased throw pieces into the air as offerings. The kutvovoc of the bereaved clan passes the property to be given away to the kutvovoc of a clan of the opposite moiety, who divides it among his clansmen. The kutvovoc of the bereaved clan builds the fire to burn the offerings. The people dance contra-clockwise around the fire, especially while the offerings are burning. If a person of another tribe, Cahuilla or Luiseño, steps into the line to dance, presents are given him. About the fire both wild cat and coyote people dance.

The most important memorial ceremony is the image ceremony or nañawil. It takes place every few years, and often it is held for four or five dead, or for all who have died since the preceding nañawil. Before the ceremony is announced, each clan discusses the matter with its bereaved families. If a family is not quite ready, the ceremony is postponed. The nañawil is given by only one moiety at a time, namely the moiety of the deceased. The clan or clans of

that moiety furnish money and property for the ceremony. The opposite moiety is invited.

The relatives of the deceased make the heads of the images which represent the dead. They also gather the material for the images. This consists of bundles of *Epicampes* grass called masbat. If there are four dead four bundles of grass are supplied. These bundles, together with the heads of the images, framework, and clothing, are given to the people of the opposite moiety to be put together. The chief of a clan or party always has a supply of masbat at his house. Each family also has some on hand.

The ceremony occupies three days and three nights. Men sing at night, women during the day. If the coyote moiety is bereaved, the wild cat men sing during the first half of each night, the coyote men during the second half. A similar order is observed in the singing of the women during the day.

On the first and second nights the materials for the images are collected in a pile. On the last morning of the ceremony the people of the opposite moiety make the images, each kutvovoe assigning the work to his clansmen. They and their relatives help him to make the images. Relatives of the dead person, whose image he makes, pay him while he is putting the image together. If the deceased has numerous relatives, he receives considerable money; if few, he receives but little. The images are put together in a very short time. They are completed before nine o'clock in the morning. The people of the opposite moiety carry them, while the bereaved moiety scatters money, food, clothes, and baskets. These are collected by the opposite moiety. The images are thrown on a fire which is lighted by a kutvovoe of the officiating moiety. The burning takes place out of doors in a circular pit. The kutvovoe who lights the fire is paid for that service by the bereaved moiety. The ceremony ends with seven or eight songs sung by the combined women of both moieties. The material given by the bereaved moiety is divided by the kutvovoe of the recipient moiety at the end of the ceremony.

By the Cupeño the electric fire ball is called Tur, a name quite different from that used by the other Shoshonean groups of southern California, among whom this apparition is usually known as Takwite or Takwic. The Cupeño like the other groups consider Tur to be a spirit, who dwells in a large rock high up on Mount San Jacinto. People who approach his house must do so quietly. The Indians report that white people who believe that there is gold under the rock

have made several attempts to obtain it. Each time Tur has appeared and driven the treasure seekers away.

Two brief Cupeño myths were obtained. One tells of the two deities Tumaiyowit and Mukat. The other recites the annihilation and regeneration of the Cupeño and is quite parallel to the Morongo clan legend (see p. 182) of the Serrano.

Tumaiyowit and Mukat.—The gods Tumaiyowit and Mukat created the world and all that is in it. They quarreled and argued as to their respective ages. They disagreed on many things. Tumaiyowit wished people to die. Mukat did not. Tumaiyowit went down to another world under this world, taking his belongings with him. People die because Tumaiyowit died.

Mukat, who remained on earth, finally fell under the ill-will of mankind, because he caused quarrelling and fighting. Each evening he put the people to sleep by blowing tobacco smoke from his pipe. When they were fast asleep, he arose stealthily, stepped over them, and went to the ocean to defecate. Each time he heard his excrement strike the ocean floor and he knew that all was well. Three times he would hear the sound. Then he returned. When the people awoke they found him in his place. They tried every possible means to discover when and where the god attended to his natural functions, but to no avail.

Finally a very slim lizard hid on the god's cane. The god did not see it. The lizard discovered where the god went and what he did and reported to the people. Then they set the frog to bewitch the god. The frog hid in the ocean, and, as the god defecated, swallowed his excrement. The god, not hearing the usual sound, knew that something was wrong. He poked downward with his cane, which rubbed along the back of the frog making the marks which we see there to-day. The god Mukat became ill and died. When ill he told the people, "If I die to-day or to-morrow, burn me. Do not let coyote come near me, for he will do an evil deed."

Upon the death of the god his body was burned. The people sent coyote to fetch wood for the funeral pyre, for they feared that he might eat the body of the god. Coyote departed. He was away nearly a day. As soon as he left, they started to burn the body. The fire drill and hearth with which the pyre was ignited, were two men. The body of the god was burning when coyote reached the end of the world. He saw the smoke and hurried back. When he arrived at home all of the body had burned except the heart, which the people kept turning to make it burn. When coyote arrived the people were standing close together about the pyre. He said, "Brothers and sisters, let me see this. He is my god." They only stood the closer together, but coyote jumped over them and seized the heart. He ran north, where he ate it. Where the blood dripped there is gold. The people pursued in vain. Coyote looked back as he ran with the heart in his mouth. That is why a coyote, when running away always looks back to this day.

The people who stood around the pyre became trees, some tall, others short. It was over the short people that coyote had jumped. The people pursued coyote northward. Across the mountains in that direction the trees stretch to-day. They are the people who pursued coyote. Some have been knocked down, just as coyote knocked down the people.

The Annihilation and Regeneration of the Cupeño.—The people came from the north under the leadership of Tumaiyowit and Mukat. Different groups

settled here and there. The Kauval settled at Saboba.⁵⁷ The Cupeño first settled three miles southwest of Kupa. They brought with them a green, hair-like water plant as their (hot) water supply. Wherever they placed this they had boiling water. From their first place of settlement they saw that the sun always shone at Kupa, so they moved over there. At their first settlement the sun went down early and it was cold.

The Cupeño were once completely annihilated by enemies. Only the Diegueño wife of one man and his infant son escaped the massacre, which was carried out by seven or eight surrounding tribes. The attackers surprised the Cupeño, clubbed them to death, and burned their houses. They called to this Diegueño woman to come out of her burning house. She did so carrying her babe in her arms. She said it was a girl baby and both she and it were spared. It was really a boy.

The baby boy who thus escaped the massacre was of the coyote moiety Höböyak was his name; it means "capable of doing anything."⁵⁸ He grew amazingly. His mother took him to San Felipe. He hunted and killed rabbits, but others took them from him. His mother asked, "Cannot you kill something, mice or something?" He told his mother that others took his game from him. She informed him that the San Felipe people were not his kin. She said, "Kupa is your home, but your kin have all been killed. Over there is your water, your hot water, your rabbit,⁵⁹ your eagle."

When his mother said this, the boy replied, "I am going to see my eagle, my water, my rabbit, and my home." He fell to thinking about it and people saw that there was something wrong with him. They asked his mother what the trouble was. The woman told her son of relatives at Saboba, men of his moiety,⁶⁰ the coyote moiety. She pounded all sorts of seeds for food.⁶¹ One night she and her son stole away.

From Saboba the people saw the mother and boy approaching when they were as far away as Hemet. [Hemet is four miles from Saboba.] They said, "There come a man and his wife. Who can they be?" An old man, who had been indoors until now, stepped out and asked who came. He looked and at one glance knew that the others were wrong. "They are a mother and her son," he said. He recognized them while they were still as far away as Hemet. The woman told the Saboba people of the fate of the people of Kupa.

Höböyak killed more rabbits than any one else. He employed two kinds of throwing sticks in hunting rabbits. One was straight and is called wakat; it was an ordinary stick broken from a bush. The other was the curved throwing stick called nilyat. The mother and son remained at Saboba for a while. The young man was restless. He wished to go to his own country. Again the mother pounded seeds, and again they stole away at night. They went along the mountains toward Cahuilla Reservation to Wiatava. They remained there a while. One day while the mother pounded seeds Höböyak slipped away. She had always kept him in sight before. He ran far and found a bear's tracks. He returned and told his mother.

"Mother, you cannot guess what I saw." She named everything except the bear. The young man answered, "No," to each. She could think of no other

⁵⁷ Represented there by Jesus Jauro and relatives.

⁵⁸ It is said to be also a term for shaman; pul is the usual term for shaman.

⁵⁹ A mythical white and red spotted rabbit about three feet high which dwells upon Rabbit Peak. When the rabbit appears, the mountain shakes and trembles and there is a rumbling noise.

⁶⁰ The Kauval. See above, also footnote 57.

⁶¹ Pulverized wild seed is called poiye, and is mixed with water when eaten.

animal. Then she said, "There is nothing else." The young man said, "The tracks were like those of a man." The mother said, "That is a bear." Hüböyak said, "That is the one. Mother, I am going to kill that bear." She objected, saying that the bear was dangerous and killed many people. Hüböyak made a bow and arrows and slipped away again. He tracked the bear and found it. They fought. The bear jumped repeatedly at the youth, but he always stepped aside. At last as the bear went by him, he drove an arrow into its heart. He skinned the bear and took home the hide.

He carried the hide under his arm and showed it to his mother. He said, "I will show you something else." He told his mother to sit on the bear hide behind him. It became a bear and carried them. He stopped the bear and it became a hide again.

"Mother, I am not afraid to attack anyone. With you and my bear, we can kill many people. We shall now go straight home." Then they went towards Kupa. The mother retarded progress as much as possible. When close to Kupa, Hüböyak stole away for a hot water bath.

The mother objected to approaching any closer to Kupa. Hüböyak remonstrated, "Mother, I want my place. I have seen my eagle (aswut), my rabbit (suie)." They camped twice in unsatisfactory places. Then they came to a tongue of land, two miles west of Kupa, from which they could see a long way on both sides. From there Hüböyak went daily to a place about half a mile from Warner's Ranch, where women gathered seed. Women saw him daily and reported to their families, who would not believe them, because they knew that no one lived at Kupa. At last a man came to see if the reports of the women were true. He saw the young man pass. Each day, however, Hüböyak had a different appearance, thus making the spectators think that many people lived at Kupa.

All of the surrounding peoples planned to kill the Cupeños whom they imagined to live again at Kupa. As the people watched, Hüböyak appeared in different forms always from the same hut. They approached closer under cover. From his hill (the tongue of land which was about fifty feet high) Hüböyak saw them. He approached them, carrying his bear skin and asking them to wait. When close enough, he slung the bear skin at them. It became a real bear and attacked them. Hüböyak shot them. His mother clubbed the wounded. All but one of the attackers were killed. He told the survivor to go and tell his people that the score had been settled. Hüböyak killed his last man by striking his head against an oak tree. The tree and place to-day are called Tübasalpokbö, meaning "where one man's head was pounded."

Hüböyak and his mother now moved to Kupa. He married two Luiseño sisters from Rincon (?). From this marriage came the Cupeño of to-day.⁶²

LUISEÑO⁶³

The Luiseño have neither moieties nor totems. They possess, however, localized patrilinear clans or families on the one hand, and parties or religious societies on the other.

⁶² In answer to my question the informant said that the wild cat moiety came later to Kupa, after Hüböyak established himself. It was there before the massacre and destruction, however.

⁶³ Data were secured at Rincon, at Pichanga where the Temecula people are now located, and at Saboba near San Jacinto.

First, as to the families or clans, of which a list of eighty-one was obtained.⁶⁴ One informant, Gregorio Omish, whose father was an Omic and mother a Sovenic, said that he might marry any women so long as she belonged to neither of these groups. Such being the case it seems quite clear that, if these groups are clans, they are rather small, or else that the sentiment against the marriage of individuals related in any degree is exceedingly strong. Among the Serrano we have noted that the Morongo and Mohiyanim clans always intermarried, which of course means that they were of considerable size. In fact, they must have been of sufficient numerical strength to allow of continuous intermarriage without arousing the sentiment against incestuous marriage. With the Luiseño each group may have been of such small size that continuous intermarriage between any two involved incest from the native's point of view. The Luiseño groups certainly bear a resemblance to the numerous Cahuilla clans. Since they are double in number, they perhaps represent the Cahuilla fabric of clan organization much more finely spun. As with the Cahuilla each group is dignified by a name. The names resemble the Miwok personal names⁶⁵ inasmuch as they are chiefly verbs or derivatives of verbs. They lack the totemic connotations of the Miwok names, however.⁶⁶ Judging from the tendency of other Shoshonean groups and of the Yuman groups in southern California to name groups of kindred or quasi-kindred as clans, it seems clear that this Luiseño naming of families or clans is a manifestation of the same tendency, perhaps carried to a greater degree of refinement and possibly stimulated by European contact. Whether we should call the Luiseño groups "clans" or "families" is a question which can be definitely settled only with ample genealogical data.

Certain families or clans possess hereditary chieftains at the present time. Certain others are said to have had such chieftains in former days, but now lack them because of decimated numbers. There is no evidence to show that each of the eighty-one groups had a chieftain, however. It was stated that in former times those groups which had chiefs were "parties" in themselves, which undoubtedly

⁶⁴ By one informant the word "tribes" was used for these groups, although the native term applied—*tuñlam*—actually means "names." By another informant the term "families" was applied, although the native term use—*kamalun*—actually means "children." For "tribes" the second informant gave *keteam* (cf. *keteamkawie*, southerner, applied to the Diegueño), which he said applied only to linguistic groups like the Cahuilla, Cupeño, and Diegueño.

⁶⁵ E. W. Gifford, *Miwok Moieties*, present series, XII, 146, 1916.

⁶⁶ Some of the Luiseño have Spanish names which are translations of their Indian family names.

means that they were true clans and not families and performed all of the functions of the present-day party among the Luiseño.⁶⁷

The family or clan names follow, arranged by locality.⁶⁸ The late P. S. Sparkman's manuscript dictionary of the Luiseño language has been consulted in verifying and ascertaining the meaning and derivation of the names.

RINCON

1. Omic. Said to mean blood; cf. aula, blood, and aumawic, bloody.
2. Kaläk. Cf. kalek, soon, presently, quickly, in a short time, speedily, without delay.
3. Miteax. Rammed, as into a hole. The Spanish name of this family is Tapador (one who stops, shuts up).
4. Nesikat. Scraping off a little, as taking a little off of the top of a pile of earth. Nesi, to graze, to touch lightly in passing; -kat, recent imperfect or habitual agent.
5. Covenie. Mean, ugly, cranky. Cf. cowoic, someone to be afraid of.
6. Teevic. Breaking by pulling.
7. Kewewic. Fox. Mentioned by a Saboba informant as the name of a Rincon family.

LA JOLLA

1. Cuvic. Rustling noise made by disturbing dry leaves. Cuvic, making a rustling noise.
2. Agit. Said to mean a hole in the ground, like a gopher's. The mother of Vidal Mojadu was of this family.
3. Amagu. Said to mean branch of a tree.
4. Wasax. Stretched.
5. Ayuvo. Wet. Sebak was given as another name for this group.
6. Paliwac. A ground fungus known as "puff ball."
7. Awayu.
8. Tovak. Said to mean sediment from dirty water.
9. Teinteinlie. Said to mean to pound with a pestle.
10. Wivic. Said to mean cutting around the edge of something, as of a piece of cloth.

PAUMA

1. Maxlaña. Maxwal, fan palm; -ña, locative.
2. Keñie. Ground squirrel.
3. Cokteum. Said to mean to scratch flesh a bit with nails. Cf. coki, to pinch or scratch. Another informant gave the meaning as "mean people."
4. Pauval.
5. Ayal. Cf. ayalie, knowledge.
6. Teat. White owl.

⁶⁷ Felix Calac mentioned the Miteax "family" as originally having been a "party" and as having had a chief. They came from Puerta Cruz. Now there are only Manuel Miteax and his father left at Rincon and a few others at Pala. Manuel and his father belong to no party at present.

⁶⁸ J. A. Marino, a half-breed (Spanish-Cupeño) at Rincon said that his mother's father (a Cupeño) was named Nuka. Whether it was a personal name or group name could not be ascertained.

PAUMA RANCHO

1. Ciwax. Wake up.
2. Povoña. Said to mean feeling a slight pain after a severe one, as when pain of cut finger eases.

CUCA

1. Aekat. Bather. Family of Jose Albañas, who belongs to Anoyum party.
2. Mokwakwis. Said to mean to walk around a post; to make a round hole. Perhaps in part from moni, to travel.
3. Pantovak.
4. Camnim. Perhaps from camki, to gather grass.
5. Wasaiyik. Said to mean to pull on something.
6. Noiyyikas. Said to mean making shade in hot weather.

PALA

1. Luvakwis. Said to mean to wilt; to become dry. Cf. laviki, to wither.
2. Teori. Said to mean rolling a round object on the ground. Possibly really teari, to tear; or teorii, to cut much wood.
3. Wakpic. Broom (for sweeping).
4. Sokisla. Said to mean living forever. The name resembles the word cakiela (the common nettle).

PICHANGA

1. Teauwi. To chase or scare up game. This is really a Rincon family with a branch at Pichanga.
2. Hakyuk. Said to mean hungry. Cf. hakwli, to be hungry.
3. Teukul. Perhaps from teuki, to fill tight.
4. Eñla. Salt.
5. Wilix.
6. Pahanim. Budding. Compare pahankie, a kind of cane grass.
7. Oyot. Thief, robber.
8. Kowak.
9. Atatei. Bark of tree.
10. Tosamal. A small plant with yellow flowers, *Baeria gracilis*.
11. Kocak. Said to mean sweet. Compare kocahat, sweet.
12. Wavie. People piling food for fiesta; literally, the bringing or taking away.
13. Cahama. Said to mean "in the white willows." Compare cahamawie, abounding with white willow; cahat, white willow.
14. Makara.
15. Canat. Asphaltum.
16. Bahovie.
17. Totmani. Rolling stone. Tota, stone; mani, to roll something heavy. An aged woman of this family named Stefana said that Totmani had been transmitted as the family name from before the time of her great grandfather.

SAN LUIS REY

1. Tuvotwie or Tovotmuc. Said to mean something which has been ground to dust or flour. Towut, fine dust.
2. Atuulu. Said to mean a plant growing abundantly. Cf. atoula, the trunk of a tree, rootstock, or bulb of a plant.

3. Halixliña or Halüslüña. The first is said to mean walking pigeon-toed, the second standing stooped or hump-backed with arms slightly flexed. Mr. Sparkman gives pepeahat for pigeon-toed. Possibly from halahali, to be loose.

4. Ketekt. Said to mean trousers pulled up, or short. Compare ketektish, short.

5. Siñle.

6. Towie. Ghost.

7. Karik. From kari'i, to eruct.

8. Pevesañahoiket. Said to mean a tall water plant (tule) swaying in the wind. Pevesac, tule. A man named Pevesañahoiket or Havilakwa was chief at San Luis Rey.

9. Keruskat.

10. Totomal. Small stone.

11. Saume. Said to mean sound made by a sea shell at the ear.

12. Lavik. Wilting. Laviki, to wither.

13. Nonis. Said to mean talking low when sick. Noni, to make a low murmuring sound.

14. Nosis.

15. Panowa. Possibly equivalent to panavut, the name of a plant which grows near the coast.

16. Yawahaisan.

17. Kauwüt.

18. Tovita. Tovit, species of small rabbit.

19. Kelita. Perhaps from keli, to stir.

20. Mapulis. Said to mean sitting in hunched position with hands in front of face. Mat, hand.

SABOBA

1. Litcic. Slipping.

2. Pokhat.

3. Amurax. Curled, as the leaves of a plant from the heat.

4. Tukwut. Mountain lion. Spanish name is Leon. The Indian name of the father's father of Pauline Leon was Wowis, said to mean a trail. This man's brother's son had the same name. It seems impossible to distinguish whether it is a family name or merely a transmitted individual name.

5. Apapas. Said to mean round like an olla. A Cahuilla family. The name is said to be of Spanish origin. It may be the Spanish form of pavahat, having the shape of a sphere.

6. Jauro. A Cupeño family of the Kauval party.

7. Teipmal. A species of owl; perhaps the pygmy owl, recorded by Mr. Sparkman as tukyapal. Spanish name is Lechuza. The family is at present represented by Antonio Lechuza. It is also said that Antonio and his father's sister, an old woman named Soledad, are of the Gaupsi (a small shrub with berries liked by the birds). It seems possible that Gaupsi is really the original Indian family name and that Teipmal is simply a translation of the Spanish Lechuza. On the other hand Gaupsi may be the name of one of the three Saboba parties (described below) for which no names were obtained.

8. Yuloteuwat. Morning Star. Spanish name is Lucero. Mr. Sparkman gives Eluteax as the Luiseño name of Venus, the morning star.

NO LOCATION

1. Anaa. Said to mean burnt.

A Luiseño party⁶⁹ consists of a clan or family, with an hereditary chief, to which other numerically weak and chieftainless groups have attached themselves. It is of the same character as the party among the neighboring Cupeño. The purpose of the party is ceremonial, hence it might well be called a religious society. Membership in a clan is of course a matter of birth, but membership in a party is a matter of choice on the part of each individual. The choice seems to be wider among the Luiseño than among the Cupeño, where we have seen that moiety limits the number of groups with which an alliance may be made. The party, that is, the nucleus clan with its accretions, is called *noot* or *nota*,⁷⁰ which is also the term for "chief." How far the party is the result of decimation due to European contact and to what extent its development may be correlated with the Chungichnish ritual are questions which must be left in abeyance.

The chieftainship is hereditary, passing as a rule from father to son, the old chief selecting his successor from among his sons. A party at Saboba, however, has a chieftainess, who inherited her office. Her husband acts for her in most matters. At Rincon there is also a chieftainess, who has succeeded her husband during the minority of her son. In case a chief dies suddenly without indicating his successor, one of his relatives is selected. The business of the parties (*nonotum*) seems to be entirely ceremonial, "making fiestas" as the natives express it.

Anyone who wishes can join a party. Blood relationship to the family or clan in which the chieftainship is vested is not necessary. Furthermore a person may quit one party and join another. If a member thought that his party did not carry out properly the ceremonies for one of his deceased relatives, he might become angry and resign. A person belongs to only one party at a time. When a member dies, his party makes a ceremony and burns his clothes. A woman becomes a member of a party with her husband. Usually a man belongs to the party of his father, but he may quit it and join another if he wishes. Women may join, but children may not. A

⁶⁹ Both Miss Du Bois and Mr. Sparkman mention "clans" or "parties." At one time they say that membership is a matter of birth, at another that it is a matter of choice (C. G. Du Bois, *The Religion of the Luiseño Indians of Southern California*, and P. S. Sparkman, *The Culture of the Luiseño Indians*, present series, VIII, 1908).

⁷⁰ The plural of *nota* is *nonotum*. In speaking of one member of the Anoyum party, *anoñahue* would be used. Anoyum means the members collectively. *Noot anoñahue* would be "chief of the Anoyum."

person must be adult to join. There is no initiation. A prospective member consults with the chief of the party he wishes to join.

When the chief of a party decides to give a ceremony, for example the clothes-burning ceremony, he calls his people together. On the first night they alone are present; later, people from many places come.

At Rincon there are four parties which originally lived at Cuca, at San Luis Rey but one, at Pauma three, at Pichanga two, at Saboba three. The parties at Rincon formerly numbered seven. The present parties there are listed below.

1. Anoyum is the name of one party of which an old man named Jose Polonio Omish is chief. All of the Omic belong to this party. The Tovik and Suvic also belong to the Anoyum party. They once formed separate parties, but their chieftains are dead, so they have attached themselves to the Omic. Anoyum (ano, coyote; -yum, plural, probably here with the force of "people of"), which refers to the coyote, is a name given this party because of greediness at "pescado (fish) fiestas." The proper name for the Anoyum party is Keñteum, "ground squirrels."

2. Ivañawic is the name of a second party at Rincon. Its nucleus is found in the Calac family or clan, all of whom belong to this party, Jose Calac being the chief. Ivañawic (iva, to be set apart; -[ña]wic, partitive),⁷¹ which means "sitting apart or separate," is said to be only a nickname for this party, applied because of such a habit at fiestas. Naxyum is the proper name. The ancestor (piwi) of the Calacs, from whom this name was derived, was called Naxnaxkwis, a name derived from naxat, walking stick. From him sprang all of the Calacs. Other families besides the Calacs belong to this party. Jose Calac, the chief, is the cousin (father's brother's son) of Felix Calac, an informant.

3. Exvaiyum or Temekwiyum. Both names of this party refer to Temecula and may be translated "Temecula Party." Exvaiyum is from exval, sand, and -yum, plural, probably here with the force of "people of." Temekwiyum is from Temeku, Temecula, and -yum, probably with the meaning "people of." Felix Nesikat is chief of this club, although his mother, Carmen Neskiat, has acted as regent during his minority.

4. Señyam or Seveyum. The first name refers to señat, gravel, a name said to have been applied because the nucleus clan of this party came from a gravelly place. Bruno Sovenie is chief of this party. One informant said that Señyam was the name of a San Luis Rey party, but elsewhere it was stated that there was but one party at San Luis Rey, the Kaiteam.

5. Navyam (navut, prickly-pear cactus; -yam, plural, probably with the force of "people of") or Ciwaxum was the name of a fifth party, now extinct, of which the Ciwax family held the chieftainship.

At San Luis Rey there is said to have been only one party, which was called Kaiteam, from Kaiyite,⁷² said to be the place name of

⁷¹ The Luiseño dictionary, compiled by Mr. Sparkman and to be published in this series, was used in checking the meanings of the terms obtained.

⁷² Recorded as Kheish, Gheech, and Gesh by Dr. Kroeber (present series, IV, 147, 1907). Kaiteam is probably a form of Khecham, a name sometimes applied to the Luiseño (*ibid.*, p. 145, 1907).

San Luis Rey. All of the families of that place were under the leadership of an hereditary chief who belonged to the Pevesañoahoiket family or clan. The chief himself was called Havilakwa as well as Peyesañoahoiket. Since smaller villages had three and four parties, it seems unlikely that the grouping of twenty clans or families under one chief at San Luis Rey was a strictly aboriginal proceeding. Undoubtedly it was the result of Spanish contact.

At Pauma there are three parties: (1) Maxlañum (maxwal, fan palm; -um, plural, probably with the force of "people of"), of which Luis Maxlaña is chief; (2) Sokteum, of which Rejinaldo is chief; (3) Pauvalum, of which Encarnacion Pauval is chieftainess.

At Pichanga there are at present two parties, although long ago there were more. One is called Seyiñoic and a man named Loqui is its chief. The other is called Kiyuñahoic (cf. kie or kitca, house) and its chief is Francisco Rodriguez, a mixed blood. Francisco translated the name of his party as "my home and my property," a name quite out of keeping with the names of the Rincon parties. A little investigation showed that Francisco's party is an upstart affair, founded within a year by him. The name adopted is that of a party once existing at Temecula, but all the members of which are dead. It was not ascertained whether Francisco's ancestors in the male line were chiefs. A Pichanga informant once belonged to the Seyiñoic party, but withdrew many years ago and has not joined another. Loqui, the chief of this party, is said to have inherited his position from his mother, which perhaps means that his father died while he was young and that she acted in the father's stead until Loqui was old enough to take charge. When a chief purposes to have a ceremony he first assembles his people and discusses the matter with them. He sends his messenger, *teaiya*, to gather the people. The *teaiya* is selected by the chief and the position is not inherited.

Certain ceremonies are said to be the property of a single party only. At Rincon the tanic dance (a man's dance with feathers on the head) belongs to the Ivañawic party; the morahash dance to the Anoyum party. A Pichanga informant said that a man of that place might marry either a local woman or a woman from a distance. There was no interdict against marrying a woman of one's own party, so long as she was not a relative.

At Pichanga, Pala, Pauma, and Rincon people speak of the bear (hunwut) as *piwi*, great grandparent, a term used by other groups for the totems coyote and wild cat. At first I thought that I had

another case of totemism, but as the custom is common to all of the Luiseño and not to special clans or parties, it became clear that I had not. The instances given below by the natives make clear that this term as used for bear is a term of respect and is parallel to the Miwok practice of addressing a spirit as grandfather. The explanation of Rincon informants is this: When people formerly went into the mountains for acorns they often saw bear tracks. They would say "That is my great grandparent." They thought the bears could understand them, and hearing them speak so respectfully, would take no offense and do them no injury. At Pichanga an informant stated that the bear (hunwut) was once chief at that place. It was stated that the use of the term piwi for the bear had nothing to do with the taking of toloache nor with the Chungiehnish religion, although the bear is one of the avengers of that deity. Again it has no connection with the power of certain shamans to become bears. The killing of a bear, which was done with arrows, was the motive of an all-night ceremony conducted by the chief of a party. Eagles, which were also killed only ceremonially, are not spoken of as piwi. A fragment of a Temecula story is to the effect that long ago a bear seized and killed a woman. The people went to the bear's den calling "Nupiwi, nupiwi," and drove the bear away.⁷³

Among the Luiseño and Cupeño there seems to be a well-developed belief in bear shamans. They are not a thing of the past as in central California, but exist and operate to-day. Their power is obtained by dreaming, independent of the visions induced by toloache. Cupeño informants remembered a man at Kupa who had the faculty of transforming himself into a bear, which he did at fiestas for the purpose of frightening people and amusing himself. They also told me of a Cahuilla bear shaman from San Ygnacio, a man of about forty-five, now residing at Banning. His name is Juan de la Cruz Norte and he is a member of the coyote moiety. Juan is reported to have assumed the shape of a bear on two occasions. The incidents rather point to hypnotism as the explanation of Juan's alleged power. Many white people have tried to induce Juan to change himself into a bear. He always asks too high a price, fifty to one hundred dollars, claiming that he must demand a big sum, as the risk is great. If he fails to make the transformation he dies at once.

Juan is clubfooted and of heavy build. It would not take a very vivid imagination to see the likeness of a bear in him. Indian

⁷³ Dolores Kesbien, a Luiseño (?) woman at San Manuel Reservation near Patton, spoke of the bear as piwi, using in addition to hunwut the term takahaiteu.

school girls have often joked about his clubfeet and bear-like appearance. A couple of years ago Juan appeared as a bear to two girls at Pala, who were among the number who formerly amused themselves at his expense. On this occasion there was a fiesta in progress, to which most of the Pala people had gone. The two young women remained at home. Juan came by on horseback and saw the two girls sitting in a house with the door open. He had been drinking and was probably in bad humor. At any rate he decided to have revenge for the previous injuries to his feelings. He rode up to the house, dismounted and stood in the doorway. He reminded the girls that they had twitted him about his feet and his bear-like appearance and that now he was really going to become a bear. The girls were very much frightened. He started to sing, raising and lowering his arms at the same time. His arms were flexed as he raised and lowered them from the shoulders. The terrified girls saw the hair appear on his body and saw the claws grow on his hands. His horse, which he held by the reins, snorted in terror, jerked on the reins, and finally pulled Juan out of the doorway, thus breaking the spell.

On another occasion, it is related, Juan and his brother quarreled while drunk. The brother said that he did not believe Juan could become a bear as he claimed. Juan accepted the challenge and the brother barely escaped from the house. Neighbors were summoned, but upon their arrival Juan had resumed his natural form.

Among the Luiseño, bear shamans are not unusual. The power of a bear shaman is not inherited by his children. The uncle of Canuta, a Saboba informant, was a bear shaman, *pula*,⁷⁴ of wide repute. He obtained the power at about middle age, but not by taking *toloache*. He did considerable damage and frightened many people while in that form. In response to inquiries as to the manner in which the power was obtained, informants always said that the shamans "came by it naturally," or received it "from above." The term for supernatural power was given as *cowoic*, which also means "someone to be afraid of." The great grandfather of Vidal Mojadu, a man now living at Saboba, was a shaman who could transform himself into a bear. He possessed this faculty from birth. When he made the transformation he merely sang a little and assumed his animal form. Many people witnessed the transformations. He did no damage while in bear form; he exhibited his power for the enjoyment of people. Vidal Mojadu's Indian name is Sepak, as was his great grandfather's.

⁷⁴ The generic name for shaman.

A Temecula bear shaman was once attacked by bears in the Santa Rosa Mountains. He turned into a bear, fought, and killed his attackers. He became a man again. This shaman was in the habit of killing cattle while in the form of a bear. He was killed and flayed by cowboys on one occasion. When they left he arose as a man from the bear carcass and returned home.

The following data seem of doubtful value yet are presented for what they are worth. They were secured at the village of Saboba, near the American town of San Jacinto, within Luiseño territory. Its original inhabitants seem to have been Luiseño, although the Cupeño story of annihilation mentions certain Cupeño of the Kauval clan who settled there. This, however, may have been within a century. At present there are Cupeño and Cahuilla mixed with the original Luiseño, many individuals having the blood of two or more of these groups in their veins. The various elements of Cahuilla, Cupeño, and Luiseño society are present at Saboba and apparently in an only partially assimilated state. Information at Saboba was obtained chiefly from an old woman named Canuta, whose Indian name was Salat, body louse. I know nothing of Canuta's parents; but I do know that her daughter, Cinciona, married Tomas Jauro, a Cupeño, who was the father of my interpreter, Mrs. Philomena Cleveland. Francisca Lala and Antonio Lechuza were two other informants interviewed at Saboba. Neither Francisca nor Antonio knew anything about moieties or totems. Canuta, however, did, and according to her Francisca and Antonio belong respectively to the coyote and wild cat moieties. Since the Luiseño at Pichanga and Rincon know nothing about moieties or totems, it seems probable that the information about such matters at Saboba really refers to the Cahuilla and Cupeño portion of the population and not to the Luiseño.

Canuta's totem was the wild cat. Her father's was likewise the wild cat, while her mother's was the coyote. Canuta's husband Leponcio was a Cahuilla of the coyote totem. The names of the moieties as given by Canuta were tuktum (wild cat moiety) and anom (coyote moiety). Anom is merely a Luiseño translation of Cahuilla and Cupeño istam. A person could not marry another of his moiety, because they were regarded as relatives. The moieties hunted together; there were not separate hunting grounds. Totemites killed their totem without prayer or ceremony. There were no other animals associated with coyote and wild cat as co-totems. There is a slight bit of evidence, however, that the totem was at times kept in

captivity and not killed. Francisca Lala and her father (now deceased), both alleged by Canuta to be of the coyote moiety, were in the habit of keeping coyotes as pets. Francisca had one recently, but it escaped from captivity. I could learn nothing of the underlying motive in keeping the coyote in captivity.

In funeral and mourning ceremonies there seem to be no reciprocal functions on the part of the moieties, all for example, singing over the dead. In the administering of toloache the moiety of the officiating shaman (pula) or chief makes no difference. The initiates are of both moieties. In the girl's ceremony the initiates are likewise mixed as to moiety. No new name is given at initiation. Canuta's daughter Cinciona was given her Indian name of Yewawinim seven months after birth. The name was given by Du Alberto, paha of the party to which Canuta and her husband belonged. Du Alberto was said to be of the wild cat moiety. I suspect that Canuta assigned moieties to certain individuals who were purely Luiseño in blood and who really belong to none. Of course, it is possible that the institution is spreading to the Saboba Luiseño.

In response to a request for myths concerning the totems, Canuta related the following story:

Wild cat had three wives, the stars known as Hulateum, a part of the constellation Teehaiyum.⁷⁵ Coyote killed wild cat, flayed him, donned his skin, and then roasted and fed his carcass to wild cat's wives. They ate their husband, not knowing they were eating him. They searched for wild cat. Coyote, who had disguised himself in their husband's skin, went with them and married them. Coyote and the three women went to certain springs to bathe. Coyote told his wives to enter the water first. They did so. Then coyote threw off the wild cat skin and entered the water. His wives did not know that he had removed the skin. Coyote said, "I have reached the women." The women got out of the water and flew up to the sky. They threw into the air the root (kwinum) of a plant so that they might travel on it to the sky. They are in the sky now as the three stars of Hulateum. Coyote is in the sky chasing them.⁷⁶

There are three parties (nonotum) at Saboba, each with its hereditary chief. I could obtain no names for these parties, although they doubtless have names. In becoming a member of these parties moiety plays no part. People of both moieties belong to the same party. As elsewhere in Luiseño territory women become members of the parties by birth and by marriage. Both the position of chief (nota) of a party and the position of ceremonial assistant (paha) were passed

⁷⁵ Mr. Sparkman gives Hulateum as the name for the three stars of Orion and Teehaiyum for the Pleiades. Evidently one informant has confused Orion with the Pleiades.

⁷⁶ Compare a somewhat similar tale by Miss Du Bois, present series, VIII, 164, 1908.

from father to son or brother. At times a woman was the only heir. Among the duties of the chief as ceremonial leader is the naming of the children born to members of his party. The paha notifies people of coming ceremonies and generally assists the chief. He acts as amokat (= hunter) or "chief of the rabbit hunt." Ceremonies which were carried out by each party were the girl's ceremony, the image ceremony, and the "war dance" (pulas or tanie) about the fire. Dances were not the property of individual parties. In the image ceremony the female relatives of the deceased make the images. A child belongs to the party of its parents. There is no exogamy in connection with the parties, a man marrying a woman either in or out of his party as he likes, so long as she is of a different moiety. There were not separate hunting grounds for the parties.

Ceremonies were held at or near the house of each chief. Each chief administered the toloache to the boys of his party. Moiety had nothing to do with the administering of this drug. The entire boys' ceremony, including the giving of toloache, the instruction at the sand painting, and the ceremony called wanawut,⁷⁷ was in the hands of the party chief. The morahash or whirling dance took place at the time of the ceremony of anut, placing red ants on the bodies of the initiates. This follows the giving of toloache. The morahash dancers may be of any party. There seems to be no proprietorship of dances as among the western Luiseño. The ceremonial killing of an eagle was another party ceremony in charge of a party chief.

A village chief who was elected, was chosen for his ability regardless of his moiety. He ruled over the entire population and held office as long as satisfactory. I suspect that this office is of modern origin at Saboba, as it seems to be elsewhere in southern California. Formerly a man named Victoriano was chief (noot) of the entire village. He was selected by the people. At present there is no village chief, but there are three party chiefs; Jesus Jauro, Teofilo Ba, and Soledad (Lucero) Mojadu, the wife of Augustine Mojadu. Soledad's Indian family name is Yulotcuwat, said to be a translation of Lucero, the Spanish name for Venus, the morning star. Teofilo is of the coyote moiety. These individuals all inherited their positions.

The following information concerns previous officials of the three Saboba parties. One party, already mentioned in connection with

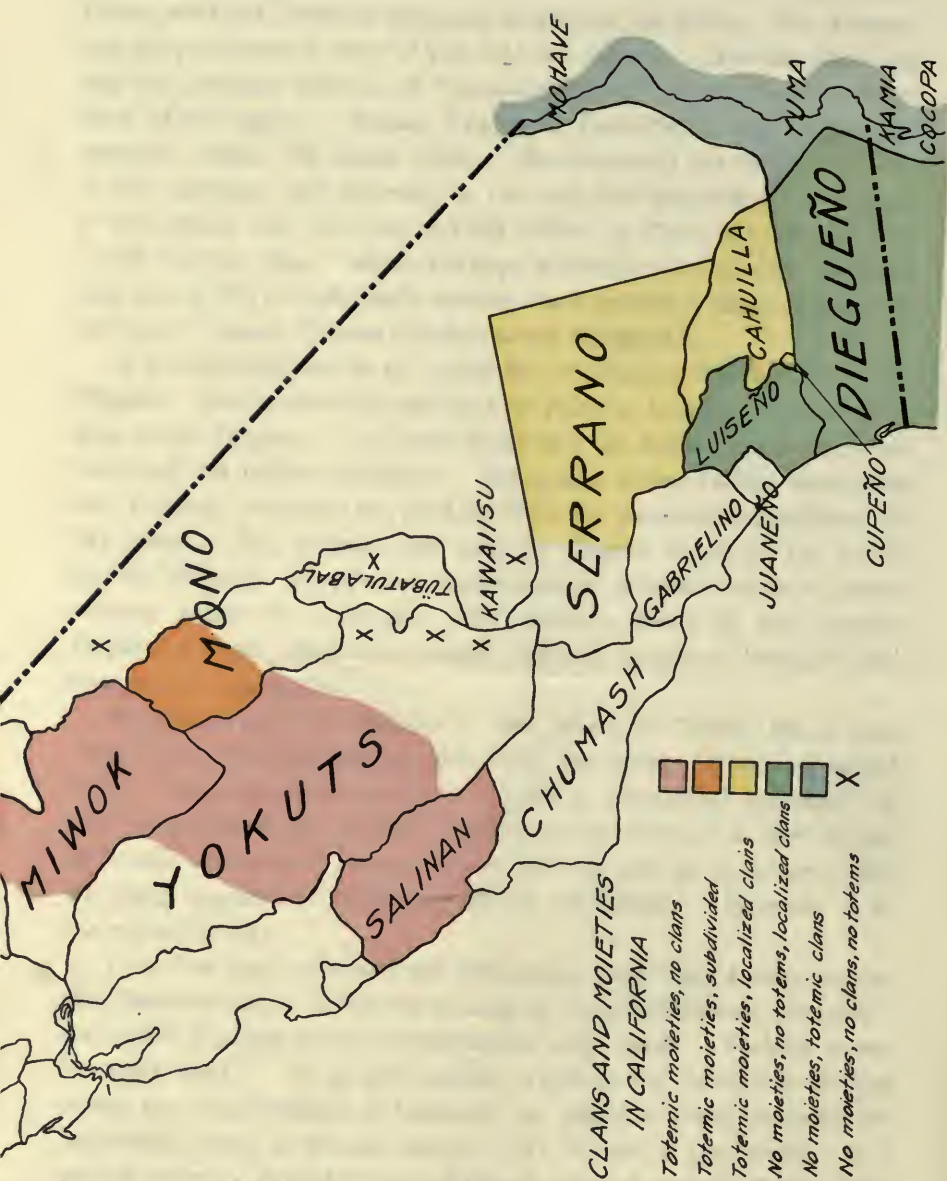
⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 85, 1908.

the naming of the daughter of an informant (Canuta), had as chieftain a man named Cristobal Lakuiya, of the coyote moiety; and as paha Du Alberto, who had succeeded his father Matias (Indian name Tukut, wild cat), who in turn had succeeded his father. Du Alberto and his predecessors were of the wild cat moiety. Cristobal Lakuiya was the younger brother of Canuta's father. Jesus Jauro is now chief of this party. Tomas Apapas, a Cahuilla, is the ceremonial assistant (paha) for Jesus Jauro. He succeeded his uncle Seferino to this position, and Seferino in his turn had succeeded his father. It was stated that Seferino and his father (a Cahuilla) were of the "wolf (iewut) clan," which perhaps is really the Cahuilla Iswetum clan (see p. 191). Seferino's mother was a Saboba woman of the wild cat moiety named Urbana (Indian name Samuyat).

A second party has as its leader the chieftainess Soledad (Lucero) Mojadu. Her ceremonial assistant or paha is Antonio Lechuza (Indian name Teipmal). Antonio succeeded his father Teodorcio, who succeeded his father Gitinyano. Gitinyano, whose Indian name was also Teipmal, inherited his position from his paternal grandfather of like name. The Teipmal are said by Canuta to be of the tukut moiety, although the present representative Antonio claims to know nothing about the moieties. The father's sister of the present Teipmal, a stout old woman named Soledad, is said to belong to the Gaupsi also (see p. 205).

The third party at Saboba is that of which Teofilo Ba is nota (chief) and of which Manuel Manamish was paha. Manuel is so old that he has given up the position of paha or ceremonial assistant. A man named Gervasio Romero (Indian name Hülvl, a sage brush, *Artemisia californica*, from which a drink is said to be brewed) fills his place, apparently, however, not by inheritance. Gervasio is of the coyote moiety.

Very few data were secured concerning individual Indian names. Mrs. Isabella Majel, a Saboba woman of Luiseño-Mexican parentage, was called Tealaka by her grandparents when small. Tealaka means "horned toad." It is not certain whether the following Saboba names are of individuals or families: (a) Akhel, a grass, probably the individual name of Tomas Jauro. (b) Wahat, a tree similar to a poplar (alamo), probably the individual name of mother of Mrs. Soledad (Lucero) Mojadu, a Luiseño woman of Saboba. (c) Hülvl, a species of sage brush, probably the individual name of a man called Gervasio.



MOIETIES, CLANS, AND TOTEMISM IN CALIFORNIA

A glance at the accompanying map shows that groups organized on the basis of totemic moieties with patrilinear descent occupy a large part of south central and southern California. The Colorado River tribes lack moieties, but they appear again among the Pima of western Arizona. In California, in approximate order from north to south, the groups with moieties are Miwok, Mono, central Yokuts, and Salinan in south central California, and southern Serrano, Cahuilla, and Cupeño in southern California. It is quite possible that the northern and southern moiety groups were actually connected geographically through the Buena Vista group of Yokuts and the Kitanemuk (the northwestern Serrano). The former are extinct and the latter remain to be investigated. The absence of moieties among the Colorado River tribes is but one of the several negative characteristics of their peculiar culture, which is marked by the non-possession of certain cultural elements common to their eastern and western neighbors.

Three varieties of the moiety organization are distinguishable in California. First, there is the moiety and clan type of southern California, as among the Cahuilla, in which a number of non-totemic clans are grouped in totemic moieties. Second, there is the undivided totemic moiety of the Miwok and Yokuts. The third type is represented by the Mono. Superficially it resembles the southern California type with moiety and clan, but fundamentally it is different. Each Mono moiety comprises two subdivisions. Neither the subdivisions nor moieties are exogamous. As pointed out in a previous notice,⁷⁸ the Mono moiety organization is undoubtedly borrowed from the neighboring Yokuts and Miwok, for the Mono east of the Sierra Nevada lack it. The subdivisions of the Mono moieties probably represent a local development. It does not seem likely that they have an origin in common with the clans of the Serrano, Cahuilla, and Cupeño of southern California, since an extensive area without clans separates them. It seems justifiable to regard the minor Mono groups as subdivisions of moieties rather than as clans grouped in moieties.

⁷⁸ Dichotomous Social Organizations in South Central California, present series, xi, 296, 1916.

The wedge composed of Shoshonean (Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu) and Yokuts peoples (Yaudanchi, Paleuyami, and Yauelmani), which on the map has all the appearance of driving asunder the northern and southern moiety groups, is without trace of the institution. This is especially startling in the case of the Yokuts groups since their congeners of the San Joaquin Valley and of the Sierra Nevada foothills to the north possess the institution. The anomaly is explainable only on the basis of cultural diffusion. The Yokuts groups in question were in close touch with the Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu, two groups which lack the moiety organization as undoubtedly do their neighbors to the east. Correlative evidence in support of this explanation is found in the kinship systems and other cultural traits of the three Yokuts groups in question. The kinship systems resemble those of the neighboring Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu and differ from those of the central Yokuts groups with moiety organization. The Yokuts tribes among which the moiety organization is known are Chukchansi, Gashowu, and Tachi. Native report from the Tachi also credits with moieties the Chunut, Nutunutu, Telamni, Wechikhit, and Wowol.

The attempt to determine the present center of gravity of the moiety organization will not be essayed at this point. It seems best first to consider the distribution of clan organization and then to take up the matter of the diffusion of the two institutions, since it is impossible to discuss one without alluding to the other. In the following paragraphs the Mono are excluded.

Like the moieties, the clans, which are limited to southern California, are patrilinear in descent. The groups organized on the basis of clans are the Yuman Diegueño, the Colorado River Yuman tribes (chief among which are the Mohave, Yuma, and Cocopa), and the Shoshonean Serrano, Cahuilla, Cupeño, and Luiseño. Nothing is known about the Juaneño, Gabrielino, and Chumash, but since they were in contact with groups which possess either clans or moieties, or both, it seems fair to assume that they were similarly organized. In the following discussion of clans it seems well to bring in the Pima.

We may separate the peoples with clans into four groups based upon the possession or non-possession by the clans of the following characters: (1) The clan totem; (2) localization; (3) the grouping of clans in moieties. The accompanying table makes clear the four groups. The first group is formed by the Pima and probably the Papago, from whom the data are insufficient. It is characterized by

totemic, non-localized clans combined in moieties. The second group is composed of the Mohave, Yuma, and Cocopa and is characterized by totemic, non-localized clans not combined in moieties. The third group comprises the Diegueño and Luiseño with localized, non-totemic clans, not combined in moieties. The fourth group embraces the Cupeño, Cahuilla, and Serrano and is characterized by localized, non-totemic clans grouped in moieties.

Tribe	Clan totem	Localization	Grouped in moieties
Pima	Yes	No	Yes
Mohave	Yes	No	No
Yuma	Yes	No	No
Cocopa	Yes	No	No
Diegueño	No	Yes	No
Luiseño	No	Yes	No
Cupeño	No	Yes	Yes
Cahuilla	No	Yes	Yes
Serrano	No	Yes	Yes

Considering the distribution in California of both moiety and clan we find an area in which both institutions occur bordered on one side by an area in which only the moiety is found, and on the other side by an area in which only the clan is found. (See following diagram; also map.)

			.....Clans.....					
Miwok	Yokuts	Salinan	Serrano	Luiseño	Diegueño	Mohave	Yuma	Cocopa
			Cahuilla					
			Cupeño					
.....Moieties.....								

This type of distribution permits of two interpretations. First, we might assume that the complex of moiety and clan was fundamental and that it centered in southern California, perhaps with the Gabrielino, from whom certain cultural features, such as the toloache cult of California, seem to have radiated. From this center the complex perhaps spread north, south, and east, losing the clans in the north and the moieties in the south and east. Second, we might assume that the moiety and the clan are separate institutions which

have originated in their respective independent areas. From these two centers the institutions have perhaps been diffused, giving to the intermediate tribes both institutions. Personally, I am inclined to consider the latter hypothesis as more nearly fitting the known facts. From the data at hand, the moiety complex as found among the Tachi Yokuts seems to be the most highly developed, and there is no question but what we must look beyond the boundaries of California for the focus of clan organization.

The affinity and ultimate origin of the patrilinear clans and moieties of California must, in my opinion, be traced to the Southwest in spite of the barrier of matrilinear descent in that region. Geographically, there is actual contiguity of the two areas; while, on the other hand, if we seek an origin for the patrilinear clans and moieties of California in the related institutions of certain Northwest, Plains, and Woodland tribes, we are confronted by enormous intermediate areas in which neither patrilinear nor matrilinear clans occur. That the difference in descent is not a bar to considering the Southwest and the southern half of California as a single area in this matter is further emphasized by the occurrence, side by side, of patrilinear and matrilinear institutions in the Northwest, Plains, and Woodland areas, clearly paralleling the situation in the Southwest-California area.⁷⁹ Furthermore southern California is indebted to the Southwest for several important cultural traits. It seems entirely reasonable to regard clans and moieties as simply another addition to the list. I do not mean to assume, however, that the clans of the Colorado River tribes or the moieties of the Miwok are transplanted institutions, but simply that their ultimate origin is to be sought in the Southwest. Their present day features are unquestionably developments *in situ*, which doubtless stand for a long period of independent evolution since the appearance of the original institution. Of course, it is entirely possible that the moiety is a wholly independent and local development of the San Joaquin Valley of south central California, for the fact must not be lost sight of, that the moiety may embrace half of an entire linguistic stock numbering many thousands, while the clan embraces a comparatively small, and theoretically consanguineous, group.

⁷⁹Swanton, John R., The Social and the Emotional Element in Totemism, *Anthropos*, ix, 296, 1914. "It is a striking fact that the tribes presenting mother-right and father-right always occur in contiguous, not in detached, areas. We do not find mother-right in one section and father-right in another section with non-totemic tribes between. They are always in conjunction and in most cases both are represented in each area."

The problem of totemism seems less complex than that of social organization, for totemism reckons not of maternal or paternal descent, nor of clans nor moieties. In ultimate origin it seems evident that we must associate the totemism of California with that of the Southwest. In fact, when mapped, the Californian totemic area appears simply as the northwesternmost extension of a great totemic area centering in the Southwest. Furthermore, the volatile concept of totemism has a wider vogue in California than such Southwestern cultural features as pottery, the curved throwing stick, and the sand painting.

The division of nature into moieties and the assumption by each human moiety of one half of nature for its totems is an extreme development of the totemic idea found in California only among the Miwok.⁸⁰ Such an attitude toward nature seems to be but the natural and logical result of two factors operating in the native mind: (1) the grouping of mankind in moieties; (2) the belief that animals were once men or that animals preceded men upon earth. With these two ideas as a starting point it takes but a feeble system of philosophy to produce an arrangement of all animate and inanimate things in moieties. We find weak attempts at such groupings among the Yokuts, Mono, Cahuilla, and Serrano. It is only among the Miwok that the scheme has been carried to a consistent and logical conclusion.

Totemism, as expressed in names of individuals, requires a few words of comment. The personal names of the Miwok with their totemic connotations have already been shown to be similar to those of the Hopi.⁸¹ We find a practice allied to that of the Miwok and Hopi among the Yuman tribes of the Colorado River and among the Pima and Papago. Each clan among the Yuman tribes possesses an archaic and perhaps esoteric word or name of totemic connotation, which is applied to all of the women of the clan.⁸² Among the Pima and Papago a somewhat similar practice prevails: the word in each case is applied by all of the members of a clan to their fathers. The totemism manifested in names among these three widely separated groups, Miwok, Hopi, and Yuman-Piman, strengthens the hypothesis of a common origin for the totemism of California and the Southwest.

⁸⁰ E. W. Gifford, *Miwok Moieties*, present series, XII, 142, 1916.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 147.

⁸² For lists of such names see pp. 158-165.

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